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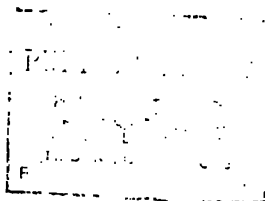
NEGRO SLAVERY,

AS IT EXISTS IN THE

UNITED STATES.

BY MATTHEW ESTES,
OF COLUMBUS, MISSISSIPPI.

MONTGOMERY:
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PREFACE.

THE following pages embrace the views of the author upon the important and deeply interesting subject of Slavery. He has been induced to present them to the public; from a conviction of their truth, and from a desire to contribute something towards removing the errors that exist in the public mind, upon the subject.

The author has enjoyed the advantage of reading most of the works which this fertile theme has produced; and he would here tender his acknowledgements of obligation, to several of the authors, for the assistance he has received from them, in the preparation of the following work. To ex-Governor HAMMOND, of South-Carolina, he, in common with the whole South, feels under special obligations, for the great benefit he has derived from the perusal of his very able and interesting letters to Thomas Clarkson, Esq. Gov.

HAMMOND is one among the very few authors who have taken the correct view of Slavery;* but as he did not design to embrace a full view of the subject, the publication of the following work is still deemed important and necessary.

The author of this work has been cheered and assisted in his labors, by several distinguished scientific and literary gentlemen, who kindly condescended to furnish facts, hints, and suggestions, which have been of much service in the preparation of the work.†

* The author takes the liberty of quoting from a letter to himself, from Governor HAMMOND, the following sentence:

"This idea, that Slavery is so necessary to the performance of the drudgery so essential for the sustenance of man; and the advance of civilization, is undoubtedly the fundamental ground on which the reason of the institution rests."

† The following is an extract from a long and highly interesting letter, from Chancellor QUITMAN, of Mississippi, to the author.

"MOXMOUTH, October 3, 1845.

"*Dear Sir:*

"Since the receipt of your letter on the subject of your contemplated work, I have been so much indisposed that I have been obliged to throw aside all business. I am now convalescent, but matters of pressing business have accumulated so much upon my hands that I fear it will be out of my power to throw together some thoughts on the subject of Slavery, which have occasionally

The author cannot hope that his work will escape the scathing ordeal of criticism, nor does he believe that it is free from imperfections; but at the same time, he must be allowed to state his conviction, that the work embodies many interesting facts and details, which cannot fail to prove beneficial in the present state of the public mind, on the subject of Slavery.

Some new ideas have been presented, which have not been met with in the works of others;

arisen in my own mind, or to furnish you with some miscellaneous collections on that subject which are among my papers some where. I was formerly in the habit of noting down, at least references to documents connected with this interesting subject. For the last five years that I have been wholly engrossed in the pursuit of my profession, I have not only neglected this, but all my papers on general and philosophical subjects have become deranged, and I could not send you any thing interesting without undergoing the labor which I am now incapable of; that of arranging my numerous papers. I sent to you by last mail, the October number of the Southern Quarterly Review. I will also refer you to Professor Dew's able essays on this subject some years since. Dr. Cartwright has promised me to furnish you with his letters to Dr. Winans, and with some anatomical views on the Negro race. The statistics of St. Domingo, since the Revolution would be valuable. I recollect the result, that their exports have never reached what they were while Negro Slavery existed in the Island. Those especially, that require annual labor, as sugar &c., have almost entirely ceased. The coffee tree which does not require removal, alone has furnished almost their entire support, and even that has

and old ideas have been presented in a form to be easily comprehended by every reader.

Harsh epithets have been avoided, and the decision of the subject has been placed upon the ground of reason alone. It was not deemed necessary to appeal to the passions in order to obtain a favorable verdict on this subject, as the intrinsic merits of the subject itself, when fairly presented, were thought fully sufficient to convince every candid inquirer after truth.

diminished. It is a remarkable fact that for many centuries, the arts and sciences existed in high perfection on the borders of the Negro race, among the ancient Egyptians, the **Saracens**, and even the Ethiopians, yet they never penetrated the dark gloom of central and Southern Africa. There is no similar phenomenon in the history of the world.

It is said that the Negro not only differs from other races in the size of the facial angle, but still more in the conformation of the thigh joint. A physician of New-Orleans, I forget his name, has published some essays upon the physiology of the Negro race. He holds that the Mulatto is shorter lived than the Negro or white man; the Quadroon still shorter; and that a mixed race of the two would soon physically degenerate and perish away. I will not however thus hastily add more upon a subject which deserves more thought."

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A DEFENCE OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

SLAVERY AMONG THE JEWS.

THE existence of Slavery among the Ancient Jews, throughout the entire period of their national existence, is a fact which all candid and intelligent persons will readily admit. Dr. WAYLAND, an uncompromising opponent of Slavery, and one of the most popular moral writers of the present day, says :

“I grant, at once, that the Hebrews held Slaves from the time of the conquest of Canaan, and that Abraham and the Patriarchs had held them, many centuries before. I grant, also, that Moses enacted laws with special reference to that relation. Of the nature of these laws, it may be convenient to speak shortly. I wonder that any one *should have the hardihood to deny so plain a mat-*

ter of record : I should almost as soon deny the delivery of the Ten Commandments to Moses.”*

Abraham, the great progenitor of the Jewish nation, the “Friend of God,” and the “Father of the Faithful,” was an extensive owner of Slaves. We are enabled to form some estimate of the number of slaves owned by Abraham, from the number that he took with him to the field in pursuit of the kings who had taken Lot and his family, prisoners. In Genesis, (xiv. 14) we are informed that—“When Abram heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan.” Besides the servants born in his house, Abraham owned others which he had purchased with his money. In the institution of circumcision, (Gen. xvii.) we are informed that Jehovah, (verse 13) told Abraham that “He that is born in thy house, and he that is *bought with thy money*, must needs be circumcised,” &c. Adding to all these a fair proportion of women and children, and we are led to the conclusion that Abraham could not have been the owner of less than from 1,000 to 1,500 slaves. Isaac, the

* Domestic Slavery considered as a Scriptural Institution, in a Correspondence between the Rev. R. Fuller and the Rev. F. Wayland, p. 49.

legitimate son and heir of Abraham, was likewise an extensive owner of Slaves. Moses, in describing his riches and his power, states that "he had possession of flocks, and possession of herds, and great store of servants," &c. Genesis, xvi. 14. Jacob, the son and heir of Isaac, was likewise an extensive Slave-owner. In his attempt to appease the wrath of his brother Esau, he sent him an account of his great riches; among which were "oxen, and asses, flocks, and *men-servants, and women-servants,*" &c. Gen. xxxii. 5.

It may be proper here, once for all, to notice the meaning of the word "Servant." All commentators agree that the word "Servant," signifies a *Slave*. "The word *deulos,*" says Dr. CLARK, "which we translate *servant,* means a *Slave*; one who is the entire property of his master."

CALMET, under the head "Servant," says:

"This word in Scripture, generally signifies a Slave; because, among the Hebrews, and the neighboring nations, the greater part of the servants were such, belonging absolutely to their masters, who had a right to dispose of their persons, goods, and, in some cases, even of their lives."

After ages of servitude, the most abject, in the land of Egypt, the Jews, through the omnipotent power of Jehovah, were delivered from bondage.

and restored to the land which had been promised to their fathers. They found the land in the possession of several tribes of Heathens; most of whom, according to Divine direction, they slew. One of these tribes, the Gibeonites, were reduced to a state of perpetual servitude. In the 9th chapter of Joshua, we have an account of the reason why the Gibeonites were treated differently from the other tribes. They succeeded in obtaining a peace from Joshua, on false pretences; which, when detected, was considered a sufficient justification of the course which was pursued towards them: that is, in reducing them to a state of perpetual bondage.

Slavery continued throughout the entire national existence of the Jews. Some of the most pious and distinguished among them, as David, Solomon, &c., were extensive Slave-owners. Even the priests, according to the Jewish law, were allowed to hold Slaves. In Leviticus (xxii. 10-11) it is said that—

“A sojourner of the priest, or a hired servant, shall not eat of the holy thing. But if the priest buy any soul with his money, he shall eat of it; and he that is born in his house, they shall eat of his meat.”

When our Saviour was upon Earth, Slavery existed not only in Judea, but throughout the

world. In Matthew (viii. 5-13) we have an account of a miracle performed by the Saviour, in healing the servant of a Roman centurion. The servant was afflicted with palsy, and of course was entirely useless to his master. The Saviour healed him—thus restoring him to usefulness—but in doing so, never uttered a word against the institution of Slavery.

There were two classes of Slaves among the Jews:—

I. The perpetual bondmen. These were obtained mostly from the Heathen nations living in the vicinity of Canaan. Persons might become perpetual bondmen from—1st: Sale by their Heathen masters. “Both thy bond-men, and thy bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the Heathen that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bond-men, and bond-maids.” Leviticus, xiv. 44. 2d: The Jews were allowed to purchase Slaves of the strangers that dwelt among them. “Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession.” Leviticus, xiv. 45. 3d: The children of perpetual bondmen, like their parents, were Slaves for life. 4th: The first perpetual

Slaves among the Jews, were the Gibeonites, who were made such under the circumstances already mentioned. 5th: Under certain circumstances, a Hebrew Slave might become a perpetual bond-man. It was in cases where a Hebrew servant had married and had children by a servant maid of his master's; and who, on account of his wife and children, refused to leave after the expiration of his term of service. In such cases — "Then his master shall bring him unto the judges; He shall also bring him to the door, or unto the door-post, and his master shall bore his ear through with an awl; and he shall serve him forever." Exodus, xxi. 6.

II. Hebrew Slaves whose terms of Slavery were limited, in no case could it exceed six years. Every seventh, which was the Sabbatical year, this class of servants were liberated. One who had been put in Slavery the first year after the Sabbatical year, would have to serve six years. One whose term of servitude commenced the second, would have to serve five years, &c. If they were sold the fifth year, they could be made to serve one year only. According to CALMET —

"A Hebrew might fall into Slavery several ways: (1) If reduced to extreme poverty, he might sell himself. Lev. xxv. 39. (2) A father

might sell his children as Slaves. Exod. xxi. 7. (3) Insolvent debtors might be delivered to their creditors as Slaves. 2 Kings, iv. 1. (4) Thieves not able to make restitution for their thefts, or the value, were sold for the benefit of the sufferers. Exod. xxii. 3. (5) They might be taken prisoners in war. (6) They might be stolen, and afterwards sold for Slaves, as Joseph was sold by his brethren. (7) A Hebrew Slave redeemed from a Gentile by one of his brethren, might be sold by him to another Israelite.”—[*Robinson's Calmet Anti-Slavery*.

The Hebrew Master had the same right to his Slave, that he had to his lands, his houses, his horses, or to any other species of property: consequently, he could buy, sell, or bequeath his Slaves, or dispose of them in any way that he could any other kind of property. The following passages of Scripture clearly sustain this position:

“If a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money.” Exod. xx. 20–21.

In this passage, the right of property is clearly recognized, connected of course with all the rights belonging to the right of property. The right to dispose of Slaves is clearly implied in the following passage:

"Thou shalt not make merchandise of her, because thou hast humbled her." Deut. xxi. 14.

But the following passage is still more explicit :

"And if a man sell his daughter to be a maid-servant, she shall not go out as the men-servants do," &c. Exod. xxi. 7.

It appears likewise from the above passages, that a Hebrew had not only the right to sell and buy Slaves, but to punish them, if necessary, in the exercise of his authority. Even if the punishment should result in the death of the Slave, the Master is not punished in the event that the Slave should survive the punishment a few days ; and the reason for this exemption is, that the Slave is his master's " money."

Laws were specially enacted to secure the Master in the right of his Slave. In Exod. xx. 17, it is said, "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house : thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife : nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant," &c. In the same chapter, verse 16, it is said : "And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."

The opponents of Slavery have endeavored to use this passage against the right to hold Slaves, but they have certainly taken a false view of its

design. No institution, clearly sanctioned by Divine authority, contains within itself the principles of its own destruction. Slavery is clearly established in the Old Testament—it met the Divine sanction—we cannot, therefore, suppose that it is wrong, or that it contains principles which would have led to its destruction.

The passage under consideration was evidently designed to protect the Master in his right to this species of property. It was similar to the laws of the Southern States, which denounce a heavy punishment on those who entice away Slaves from their rightful owners.

The benefits of Slavery among the Jews may be enumerated as follows: The *Slave*, the *Master*, the *Country*, and the *World*, were all benefited by this institution.

I. THE SLAVE.—Of all the parties concerned, the Slave probably received the most important benefits:

1st. He was benefited in a *moral* and *religious* point of view. As before shown, most of the perpetual bond-men among the Jews were purchased of the Heathen nations round about; and of the moral and religious condition of these, we have a striking picture drawn in Leviticus, chapters xviii. and xx. These people were guilty of

every species of wickedness which the mind can conceive. From idolatry to the lowest and most filthy crimes, they indulged without restraint. From this state of moral pollution, without a ray of light to guide their footsteps, they were transferred to the ownership of God's chosen people, under the immediate direction and control of Jehovah himself. From the ownership of Masters ignorant, degraded, and utterly blind in a moral sense, they were placed under the guidance of Masters whose minds and hearts were enlightened and mellowed by true religion, and who walked daily in accordance with the statutes of Heaven.

Slaves among the Jews were admitted to all the rights and privileges of the Jewish Church. Slaves were admitted to the right of circumcision when it was first instituted. See Gen. xvii. 13, which has already been quoted. In a word, they were admitted to all the privileges of the Church as any other individuals. Hence it is manifest, that the perpetual Slave among the Jews was greatly benefited, in a moral and religious point of view.

2d. He was benefited politically, as well as morally and religiously. Political and domestic Slavery, the most abject, existed among the Heathen *tribes* round about Canaan. Being uncontrolled

by religious or moral principle, and being ignorant and degraded in intellect, the presumption is, that the Heathen Masters and Rulers governed with the most rigorous severity. Such is the case the world over, under similar circumstances. Placed under the authority and control of the Hebrew Master, the Heathen Slave was transferred from a state of political and domestic tyranny, to a state of comparative freedom. He was under the control of a moral, religious, and enlightened Master, instead of one ignorant and degraded, and utterly corrupt and debased in his moral and religious feelings. There were some laws, likewise, specially enacted for the benefit of the Slave. It was contrary to law, as laid down in the Ten Commandments, for a man to exact labor from his Slaves on the Sabbath day. Exod. xx. 10. There are several enactments designed to protect the Slave from harsh and unnecessary cruelty on the part of the Master. In Exod. xxi. 20, it is laid down that—"If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished." In the 26th and 27th verses of the same chapter it is laid down that—"If a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid that it perish, he shall let him go free for his eye sake. And if he smite out

his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth, he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake."

Here self-interest, one of the strongest principles of our nature, is brought in aid of moral and religious principle, to secure just and humane treatment to the Slave. The wisdom of the Divine legislation is, in no instance, more clearly manifest than in this particular instance, in reference to the treatment of Slaves. It would have been utterly impossible to have adopted any other measure which would have so completely secured the Slave from ill-treatment on the part of the Master.

3d. The Slave was further benefited, in being trained to habits of industry, and being made familiar with the arts of civilization. It is a remarkable fact, that a savage man never voluntarily betakes himself to regular habits of industry. Hence, all nations which have passed from savage to civilized life, have been compelled to pass through the crucible of Slavery. To educate and train a wild animal, you must first catch him, and reduce him to a state of strict subjection : so likewise with a savage—he must be reduced to subjection, and then by authority forced to regular habits of industry.

When we come to speak of the advantages of

Southern Slavery, this subject will be treated in *extenso*.

II. THE MASTER.—The Hebrew Master was likewise benefited by the institution of Slavery:

1st. It afforded him leisure time for the cultivation of his intellectual and moral powers. A man who is daily engaged in a certain kind of hard drudgery, cannot possibly devote much time to the cultivation of his mental powers. We state it as a fact, which is confirmed by the whole history of mankind—that there is a certain kind of hard drudgery which is totally incompatible with any high degree of mental improvement. We do not mean to assert that all labor is unfriendly to mental improvement—far from it: for a certain amount of certain kinds of labor, is highly favorable to mental improvement. I wish to be understood only as expressing a fact which all history proves: that some labor—the hardest—that which is commonly performed by Slaves, is totally incompatible with mental improvement; at least to any great extent.

For a long time after the Israelites settled in the land of Canaan, much hard drudgery was necessary. The forests had to be felled—the earth brought into a state of cultivation—cities, towns, villages, and private dwellings built up and

improved. Implements of agriculture and mechanical tools were to be constructed, and all other kinds of labor which was necessary in a new country, and in a new state of society. If the Israelite Master had been compelled to perform all this drudgery, his whole time would have been so occupied as to have precluded the possibility of mental improvement. Having the benefit of Slaves, he could devote a portion of his time to the improvement of his mind; and thus the nation was placed in a state of mental progress.

2d. The Master not only had more leisure for mental improvement, but the tone of his moral and religious sentiments was increased. Having more leisure, he devoted more time to religious devotion: hence his patriotism, and the whole circle of moral virtues were improved.

III. THE NATION.—There were some benefits resulting from the institution of Slavery among the Jews, which can be best treated under this head:

1st. National *wealth* was increased. Physical power alone—that is, without the guidance of cultivated intellect—is never profitably directed. We have a striking example of this at present, in the condition of Africa. The African population is estimated at sixty millions: notwithstanding

ing, the arts of civilization are totally unknown among them—the whole of this vast physical power is inert, and consequently inefficient. Neither would cultivated intellect alone be productive of any important results: it requires the union of the two to produce great results. When great physical power is placed under the guidance and control of intellect, then does national wealth rapidly accumulate, and all the arts of civilization move forward with accelerated pace. It is on the principle of division of labor. All know the great results accomplished by this division in the several mechanical arts: the same benefits result from it in other departments of industry. As before remarked, there is a certain kind of hard drudgery, which is totally incompatible with any high degree of mental culture; but this labor is necessary, and of course must be performed by some one. In some countries, and states of society, this labor may be performed by persons who are, at best, nominally free; but in others, the condition of Slavery is necessary to its efficient performance. Such was the case among the Jews; otherwise the relation between Master and Servant would never have been sanctioned by the Divine Being.

2d. National *intelligence* was promoted. I need

not labor this point. What I have already said, when speaking of the benefits of the institution of Slavery to Masters, will suffice.

3d. Slavery increased the strength of the nation in a military point of view. Whatever increases the intelligence and wealth of a nation, must in that proportion increase its capacity for military defence. Besides this, the institution of Slavery, among the Jews, enabled the Jewish Master to devote more of his time to military exercise and training than would otherwise have been possible. He became more familiar with military weapons, than individuals who are constantly engaged in hard labor.

The habit of control, likewise, created in the Jewish Master a more indomitable spirit; a spirit of higher mould; one that would be less likely to yield in case of resistance. I conclude then that the institution of Slavery greatly increased the strength of the Jewish nation in a military sense. I deem it totally unnecessary to notice the several objections which have been urged against the institution of Slavery, as it existed among the Jews. The institution certainly existed among them, and that too, under the Divine sanction. Laws were even enacted for the regulation of this institution, long before a Slave was owned by a single Israel-

ite. The Ten Commandments were given on Mount Sinai fifty days after the first Jewish Passover, and nearly forty years before the Israelites took possession of the land of Canaan. In these Ten Commandments are two distinct references to the institution of Slavery; the one designed for the benefit of the Slave, the other for the Master. I take for granted, that whatever God sanctions, or permits, is best under the circumstances, though it may be otherwise under different circumstances. The sanction of Slavery in the Jewish state, proves that it was beneficial and proper under the circumstances then and there existing; but it does not prove that it would be equally beneficial and proper under a different set of circumstances. It may be true that Slavery would be highly injurious among our Northern brethren; but this does not prove that it would be equally so at the South.

God never has, under any dispensation of religion, created, abolished, or in any material manner interfered with the relations among men. He has always respected existing relations; laying down rules for their government: that is, all lawful relations—for God never has laid down rules for the government of a sinful relation.

Institutions must vary with circumstances—*state of civilization, condition of the country, &c.*

Whatever promotes the highest good of society, present and future, must, and does meet the Divine approbation. This subject will be treated of more at length in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

SLAVERY VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIANITY.

WHEN JESUS CHRIST appeared in the world, he found one half of the human family in bondage to the other. The Roman Empire, which at that time encircled within its vast arms the greater portion of the civilized world, was literally filled with Slavery. This institution existed in every part of the empire; and in a form infinitely more revolting than anything known in the Southern States of this confederacy.

Prisoners of war, of the same color of their captors, and embracing men, women and children — some the most elevated and refined — were sold into perpetual Slavery. Camillus, the dictator —

one of the most accomplished generals of his age—sold his Hetrusian captives to pay the Roman ladies for the jewels which they had presented to Apollo. Fabius, the most cautious, prudent, and successful of the Roman generals, he who by his cautious policy, vanquished the all-conquering Hannibal—subdued Tarentum, and sold thirty thousand of its inhabitants to the highest bidder at public auction, into perpetual Slavery.. Julius Caesar sold at one time fifty-three thousand captives into perpetual bondage.

Slavery in Rome was not confined to captives taken in war; for, according to one of the laws of the Twelve Tables, creditors were allowed to seize their insolvent debtors, and keep them in a state of servitude, until, by their services and labor, the amount of their indebtedness was discharged. At the beginning of the commonwealth they were allowed to sell such debtors, and even to put them to death.

Some of the wealthy Romans owned an almost incredible number of Slaves. Caius Cæcilius Isadorus, who died about seven years before the Christian era, left his heir four thousand one hundred and sixteen slaves.

Slavery continued throughout the Roman Empire, embracing Judea, Greece, Asia-Minor, and

all other countries over which the Romans held sway, for a long time after Constantine made Christianity the religion of the nation. Several of the Emperors issued edicts designed to diminish the power of the Master over the Slave ; but even after this, the Master's power continued exceedingly despotic.

Slaves were publicly sold in the Slave Markets of Ephesus, Athens, Rome, and other places ; and the power of the Master there over the Slave was much greater than it is in the United States. For several ages fifty thousand Slaves were kept at work in the mines of Italy.

These facts were fully known to CHRIST and his Apostles, and to all the early Christians ; still we do not find in the New Testament a solitary word condemnatory of the institution of Slavery. All abuses of the institution of course are condemned ; but against Slavery itself, there cannot be found a single word of condemnation, from one end of the New Testament to the other. Vices of all kinds are condemned in the most unmeasured terms—vices that belonged to every rank and grade of society—the condemnation of which aroused against CHRIST and his Apostles the most bitter hatred—but not a solitary word can any where be found against Slavery. What is the

cause of this omission? Prudence, it has been said by Dr. CHANNING, and other opponents of Slavery; excessive caution led the Saviour and his Apostles to omit saying any thing against Slavery. I will call attention to these objections more particularly hereafter; at present, I wish to give the New Testament teaching on the subject of Slavery.

It is evident from the Apostolic epistles, that in all the early Churches there were numbers of both Masters and Servants: nevertheless, as before observed, we find not a word condemnatory of the institution. In several of the epistles, we find ample directions given for the guidance of Masters and Servants in their conduct towards each other.

In Ephesians (vi. 5-9) we have the following:

"Servants, [Bondmen, or Slaves] be obedient to them that are your Masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto CHRIST. Not with eye-service as men please; but as the servants of CHRIST, doing the will of God from the heart. With good will doing service as to the LORD, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the LORD, whether he be bond or free. And ye Masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in

Heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him."

In Colossians (iii. 22—iv. 1) we have the following very similar instructions:

"Servants, obey in all things your Masters according to the flesh; not with eye-service as men pleasers; but in singleness of your heart, fearing God: and whatever you do, do it heartily, as to the LORD, and not to men, knowing that of the LORD you shall receive the reward of the inheritance; for ye serve the LORD CHRIST. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done, and there is no respect of persons. Masters, give to your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in Heaven."

In 1 Timothy (vi. 1-2) the Apostle gives the following instructions:

"Let as many Servants as are under the yoke count their own Masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit."

In Titus (ii. 9-10) the Apostle says:

"Exhort Servants to be obedient to their own Masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again; not purloining, but showing all good fidelity, that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things."

In 1 Peter (ii. 18-20) we find the following:

"Servants, be subject to your Masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward. For this is acceptable, if any man for conscience towards God endure grief, suffering wrongfully; this is acceptable to God."

In giving these instructions to Masters and Servants, the Apostles had partly in view the correction of an error which was very industriously circulated, for selfish purposes, by a class of teachers who professed the Christian religion. These teachers maintained in all the Churches, that obedience to the law of Moses was essential to salvation; and as this law (Exod. xxi. 2) allowed no Israelite to be made a Slave for life without his consent, so under the Gospel—according to their view of it—Slaves could not be lawfully held in perpetual bondage, without their consent.

Dr. JAMES MCKNIGHT, the most learned commentator who has written on the epistles, paraphrases the four first verses of the sixth chapter of Timothy, as follows:

"Let whatever Christian Slaves, as are under the yoke of unbelievers, pay their own Masters all respect and obedience, that the character of God whom we worship may not be calumniated, and the doctrine of the Gospel may not be evil spoken of, as tending to destroy the political rights

of mankind. And those Christian Slaves who have believing Masters, let them not despise them, fancying that they are their equals, because they are their brethren in CHRIST; for though all Christians are equal as to religious privileges, Slaves are inferior to their Masters in station. Wherefore let them serve their Masters more diligently, because they who enjoy the benefit of their service are believers, and beloved of God. These things teach and exhort the brethren to practice them. If any one teach differently, by affirming, that under the Gospel, Slaves are not bound to serve their Masters, but ought to be made free, and does not submit to the wholesome commandments which are our LORD JESUS CHRIST's, and to the doctrine of the Gospel, which in all points is conformable to true morality—he is puffed up with pride, and knoweth nothing either of the Jewish or of the Christian revelation, although he pretends to have great knowledge of both; but is distempered in his mind about idle questions and debates of words, which afford no foundation for such a doctrine, but are the source of envy, contention, evil-speaking, unjust suspicions that the truth is not sincerely maintained.”

Such pretenders to a knowledge of Christianity did not die with the first age of the Church; they have existed ever since, and are found now in great numbers in different parts of the United States. They maintain with the same zeal that *the false teachers did anciently, that Slavery is*

opposed to the Gospel; and of course, in their estimation, it is a high crime for one human being, under any circumstances, to hold another in bondage. To all such I would say, in the language of the Apostle, that—“*He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmises,*” &c.

The opponents of Slavery have resorted to a very ingenious method of getting clear of the Scripture argument on this subject. They suppose that CHRIST and his Apostles saw the evil of Slavery, and greatly deplored the existence of the institution; but as it was thoroughly interwoven with the whole fabric of civil society, it was thought best, through motives of prudence, not to attack it directly, but to lay down broad, general principles of morals, which, in the course of ages, would lead to its extinction:-

“But Slavery,” says Dr. CHANNING, “was then so inwoven into the institutions of society—the dangers and horrors of a civil war were so great—the consequences of a proclamation of universal liberty would have been so terrible—the perils to the cause of Christianity, had it been so taught, would have been so imminent—and the motives for manifesting Christianity at its birth, as a spirit of unbounded meekness and love were

so urgent—that the Apostles inculcated on the Slaves an obedience free from every taint of dishonesty, wrath, or revenge.”—*Channing's Duty of the Free States—Part II.* pp. 44, 45.

In proof that CHRIST and his Apostles were governed by motives of prudence in not directly assailing particular evils, it is mentioned that in no part of the New-Testament do we find a single word of condemnation of the very worst forms of civil government. On the contrary, strict obedience to the most despotic forms of civil government is insisted upon, in several parts of the New Testament. The Apostle Paul, in writing to the Church at Rome, at the time that Nero—the bloodiest of tyrants—filled the imperial chair, insists upon obedience to civil government in the following language:

“Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.” Rom. xiii. 4.

Not the slightest difficulty exists on this subject. The language of Paul can be easily explained; and the objection suggested by Dr. CHANNING, presents not the slightest difficulty.

The relations existing between individuals in society, are of two kinds:

I. NATURAL RELATIONS.—Such, for instance,

as exist between husband and wife, and parent and child. As these relations are natural, they are not affected by time, or circumstances; but are always, and universally the same.

II. TEMPORARY, OR FACTITIOUS RELATIONS.—
Such as exist between Sovereign and Subject—
Master and Servant, &c. As these relations do not constitute a necessary part of the order of nature, they are destructible; and may be, and have often been destroyed. But during their existence they are just as necessary and important, as the permanent, natural relations, themselves. Governments, and institutions of all kinds, must vary with the varying condition of society—the intellectual and moral condition of the people—the physical state of the country, &c. The institutions of one age and nation, will not suit the people of a different age and nation: even the same nation, at different periods, requires very different institutions. Thus, during the earlier, more virtuous, and more vigorous periods of the Roman Empire, the people were prepared for self-government; but towards its close, when deep corruption had seized upon the body politic, a different form of government was necessary. The people were no longer prepared for self-government; an Emperor, with his legions of armed men, was ac-

ecessary, to keep them in subjection to legal authority.

In making these remarks, I wish to impress upon the mind of the reader the fact, that the Roman government, at the time that St. Paul wrote his letter to the Roman Church, was the very best possible form of government for the Roman people. It was not the best conceivable government for all people, but it was the best under the circumstances; and was therefore a government strictly in accordance with the Divine will: for whatever form of government promotes the "*greatest good of the greatest number*," must be in accordance with the will of Heaven.

In like manner the institution of Slavery, though not the very best possible state of society for all people, and for all times, is much the best under particular circumstances; the happiness of the mass is promoted by it: it must therefore be in accordance with the Divine will—for all the arrangements of the Divine Being, as revealed in Nature and Revelation, are designed to promote the "*greatest good of the greatest number*." The advantages of Slavery as it exists here, will be examined hereafter.

I design, in a subsequent chapter, to examine the question whether Slavery is ever likely to

ease: and the conclusion, I think, will be reached, that a period may arrive, in the distant future, when it will no longer be necessary. That period, however, is yet very distant; many revolutions in the physical state of the globe must occur before its arrival.

In proving that the Roman government was the best form of government for the Roman people, at the time that Paul wrote his letter to the Roman Church, we take from our opponents one of their strongest arguments. The instructions given by the Apostles to obey civil rulers, without any word of condemnation of the worst forms of civil government, is adduced as proof that the Apostles were governed by motives of prudence in some instances, and might, therefore be, in reference to Slavery.

But let us see whether the Saviour and his Apostles were governed by motives of prudence in reference to vice and crime generally: So far was this from being the case, that on all occasions, and under all proper circumstances, they attacked vice and crimes of all kinds with dauntless intrepidity. Idolatry, though constituting (as it were) the very basis of society, was not spared, under the most trying circumstances. In the face of an infuriated mob, it was assailed—though at the peril of

life itself. Even in the midst of the Athenian Areopagus, the Apostle Paul could tell the learned Senators, Judges, and Philosophers, by whom he was surrounded, that—“*I perceive in all things ye are too superstitious.*” As an evidence of their superstition, he mentions—that in passing along, he met with an altar with the inscription, “To the UNKNOWN GOD.” “Him,” says the Apostle, “whom you ignorantly worship, declare I unto you.” Does this savour of time-serving, or overwrought prudence? How could the Apostle write that he had “not failed to declare the whole counsel of God,” if he failed to declare the full, naked truth, upon the subject of Slavery? We know that the Apostles, and their great Master, attacked every form of vice, and by name: we cannot, therefore, think that anything has been neglected. Perils of all kinds were encountered for the truth. The Apostle Paul says:

“Of the Jews, five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the Heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hun-

ger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." 2 Cor. xi. 24-27.

Never did the Apostles, in a single instance, hesitate a single moment, to declare the whole truth, upon all subjects, even in the very face of the most potent of earth's rulers. The presence of kings, rulers, high priests, and the most learned philosophers, did not intimidate—but regardless of consequences, the whole counsel of God was declared. The assumption, then, that they failed to attack Slavery on the grounds of prudence, is wholly gratuitous.

But again: if CHRIST and his Apostles had been opposed to the institution, but from motives of prudence did not wish to attack it directly, they could very easily have stated their opposition, and at the same time have given reasons why it would be important at that time to let it alone. This course would have cleared up all doubt, and at the same time have led to no mischievous practical result.

In a word, I regard Slavery as a civil institution that Christianity had not the slightest agency in creating. The province of Christianity is to remove the evils growing out of the several relations of society, and not to create or abolish them. I regard the relation between Master and Servant

as not sinful in the present or past state of the world, but greatly conducive to the good of mankind. Whether Slavery will ever cease, will depend upon changes in the physical state of the globe, of which I shall speak hereafter.

This subject has not been fully comprehended by writers: their views have not been harmonious, and but few of them have clearly comprehended the ground upon which to base the defence of Slavery.

Before closing this chapter, it will be proper to notice an argument which is frequently used against Slavery. It is acknowledged that the New Testament contains nothing directly against Slavery; but at the same time it is maintained that there are certain broad principles of morals contained in the New Testament that are directly opposed to Slavery. Thus, for instance, it is said that the great rule denominated the *Golden Rule*, is directly opposed to the institution of Slavery. We find this rule laid down in Matthew vii. 12, and in Luke vi. 31. I will quote both with the context, in order that we may have a clear knowledge of the Saviour's meaning; for he certainly had a particular meaning, as I shall most conclusively show. I will begin with Matthew, and quote from the seventh to the twelfth verse:

“Ask,” says the Saviour, “and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you: For every one that asketh, receiveth; and he that seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened. Or what man is there of you, whom if his son ask bread, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he give him a serpent? If ye then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in Heaven give good things to them that ask him? Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them; for this is the law and the prophets.”

In verses seven and eight, the Saviour extols the Divine benevolence in bestowing good gifts upon all that ask him aright. He has particular reference to the establishment of the Christian Church, which he tells them to pray for and seek after, with an assurance that whatever they asked for would be bestowed upon them. But lest some of his auditors should entertain doubts in reference to the Divine benevolence, he told them that even human beings bestowed good gifts under certain circumstances. If a child should ask a parent for a fish, or for bread, he would not give a serpent or a stone. This being so—that is, as human beings, who are evil, know how to give good gifts—how much more our Father which is in

Heaven, gives good things to them that ask him? Next comes the golden rule as a conclusion :

“Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them ; for this is the law and the prophets.”

The idea before the mind of the Saviour was this, and this only : that as we would that men should act benevolently towards us, we should act benevolently towards them. The practical results of the rule, if given the latitude of meaning sometimes attached to it, would prove utterly destructive to the best interests of society. If imprisoned for crime, we would no doubt like to be released : we ought, therefore, to attempt the release of every one that may be confined for his crimes. A thousand similar examples might be given—showing that if the rule was extended so as to embrace every case that a disordered fancy or a wicked heart might suggest as desirable to be done to us, civil society would be entirely broken up. It is evident, therefore, that the rule must be restricted to the meaning clearly growing out of the context. It may be paraphrased thus : That as we desire the kindly offices of men in our intercourse with them in life, so should we bestow our kindly offices upon them. The reference is alone to ordinary acts of kindness.

Confucius, the great Chinese philosopher, who flourished five hundred and fifty years before CHRIST, very distinctly lays down this great rule of morals. His interpretation of its meaning was evidently the correct one. He laid down the principle that a father should act towards his son, as he would that his son should act towards him, in the event that their situations were reversed. And so on with all the other relations of life.

The passage as found in Luke, evidently has the same meaning that it has in Matthew. I will, however, quote it with the context, beginning at verse twenty-seven :

“But I say unto you which hear, Love your enemies, do good to them which hate you, bless them that curse you, and pray for them which despitefully use you. And unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take thy coat also. Give to every man that asketh of thee; and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again. And as ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise.” Luke, vi. 27-31.

The simple meaning is, that as we would desire men to be kind and benevolent towards us—so should we be towards them. The following quotation from Dr. WATTS on this passage, will fully explain its meaning :

"This rule," says Dr. WATTS "does not mean to oblige us to give all that to another, or do all that for another, which we could *possibly* desire, or wish to be bestowed upon us, or done for us; but whatsoever we could *reasonably* desire, and *justly* expect, another should do to us, that we ought to do to him, when he is in like circumstances. All that in our calm and sedate thoughts we judge fit and proper another should do for us, that we should do and practice for him. Such requests as we could make to others, and could justify them to ourselves in our own consciences, according to the principles of humanity, the rules of civil society, and the rights of mankind—such we ought not to deny to others when they stand in need. Not all that a fond self-love could prompt us to ask, but all that our conscience tells us we might with reason expect."

The view that I have taken of the Scriptures on this subject, renders unnecessary any extended notice of the several objections which have been urged. The sinfulness, or not, of Slavery as it exists among us, depends on facts and circumstances to be hereafter mentioned.

CHAPTER III.

THE AFRICAN RACE: THEIR INFERIORITY, AND FITNESS FOR THE CONDITION OF SLAVERY.

BEFORE commencing the subject of African Slavery, it will be proper to say something in reference to the qualities of the African, that fit him for the condition of Slavery. I maintain that the African is naturally inferior to the Caucasian, and that he is endowed by nature with certain qualities which fit him for the condition of Slavery, as it exists in the Southern parts of the United States.

Naturalists, following the classification of BLUMENBACH, have usually divided the human family into five different varieties: 1. The Caucasian; 2. The Malay; 3. The Mongolian; 4. The American; and 5. The African. This division may be reduced to three—as I shall hereafter show—springing from the three sons of Noah: Shem, Ham, and Japheth. The three varieties are:—1st. The White, or Caucasian—springing from Japheth. 2d. The copper-colored races—embracing the Malay, Mongolian, and the American In-

dian: these sprang from Shem. 3d. The Negro races, which sprang from Ham.

The destiny of these three varieties of men has been very different. The white man, in all ages, has enjoyed a considerable degree of civilization. He has been the discoverer, the propagator, and the patron, of the Arts and Sciences: And the copper-colored races, at different periods, have enjoyed a very considerable degree of civilization: but they have never, in any age, rivalled the white race of men. The Negro race, on the contrary, has never, in any age, attained to any high degree of civilization. It has never advanced much beyond the state of barbarism; and seems, except when in a state of Slavery, incapable of reaching a higher point in the scale of improvement. I must, however, present the facts on this subject in a form somewhat more systematic:

I. PRESENT CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN.—The present condition of the African, is, everywhere, one of inferiority. In his native country, he has been free, for thousands of years past; yet he nowhere exhibits, in any part of the African continent, the slightest evidence of advancement in the arts of civilized life.

Agriculture, among the native Africans, scarcely deserves to be mentioned. A few inferior qual-

titles of grain are raised in the immediate vicinity of the villages ; but little or no labour is required, or performed, in their culture, as the earth, in most parts of that country, brings forth almost spontaneously. In most parts of Africa, the forest stands in all its primitive grandeur ; and such, in all likelihood, will continue to be the case, unless the present inhabitants should be displaced, and the country settled by a different and higher order of men.

Manufactures have advanced but little beyond agriculture, on any part of the African continent, among the negro races. As the Africans are satisfied with the simplest accommodations, this, of course, might have been anticipated. A few articles, however, are manufactured by them with some considerable degree of skill. A certain kind of blue, cotton cloth, manufactured by them, is a very beautiful article. They likewise manufacture leather, so as to make it equal to the best Morocco. Mats used for sitting, and gold and silver ornaments, are all made in Africa, with considerable skill. But these are almost the only articles manufactured in the whole country.

Navigation and Commerce, are almost entirely unknown among the Africans. Some little trade ~~is~~ carried on, on the backs of asses, and on the

heads of Slaves and women ; but wagons, carts, or other vehicles, are entirely unknown among them—and, indeed, would be entirely useless if they were known—as the best roads in Africa are but little more than paths cut through the dense forests.

All the accommodations of life are limited in an extreme degree in that country. In the whole of that vast country, the native has never built a stone house, or a house of any kind that rises two stories above the ground. They have no statuary, no paintings, nor any work of any kind, showing the slightest advance in the arts.

The intellectual condition of Africa is dark in the extreme. They have no written language, no hieroglyphics, no symbols, or characters of any kind, by which one generation can impart to another the treasures of experience. They frequently compose extempore verses, and in their *palavers* they occasionally display some powers of native eloquence ; but these efforts are greatly inferior to the efforts of the most uneducated members of the Caucasian family.

Africa, in a Religious point of view, is in a state of extreme darkness. Their views of spiritual beings in general, are low and degrading : nor have they a single rational idea in reference

to religious worship. They have a dim, undefined notion of some supreme intelligence, and of a future state of existence ; but so obscure are these notions, and so irrational the line of duty springing from them, that not unfrequently, under the name of religion the most horrid cruelties are perpetrated. On the death of a king, or a distinguished chief, hundreds of their courtiers, wives, and slaves are put to death, in order that they may have the benefit of their attendance in the future world. It often happens, that where the sword of the rude warrior is once drawn in such cases, it is not again readily sheathed ; whole towns may be depopulated before the thirst for blood is satiated.

The Africans worship various natural objects, animate and inanimate, and have great faith and confidence in the virtue of charms. As a means of protection, they carry about with them certain substances, with dark, unintelligible, and mysterious characters, inscribed upon them. Some of the African tribes even worship the Evil Spirit.

The Moral and Social Condition of Africa, is not in the least superior to its Religious state. Society there has passed the bounds of the first state of social existence, where simplicity exists from the absence of all causes calculated to arouse

the deep passions of the human heart ; but it has not reached that state of refinement where the passions are curbed by the restraints of law. The consequence is, every imaginable evil which springs from the bosom of society when not under the influence of moral, religious, and political restraints, exists in Africa. Wars—bloody, destructive, and unrelenting wars—are constantly waged by the several tribes against each other. These wars are often undertaken with the open and avowed purpose of plunder, and in order to get prisoners for the purpose of supplying the Slave market. Kings, and the most celebrated warriors engage readily in these wars for plunder, and even regard such expeditions as highly honorable.

Though dark in the extreme, the social virtues occasionally display themselves in Africa, especially among the females. European travellers are often very hospitably entertained by the females ; but more generally, they are treated by the men in a rude, insulting, and brutal manner. It is dangerous in the extreme for foreigners to travel through that country ; and but few, comparatively, are willing to undertake an enterprise so hazardous.

The larger portion of the African population

are in a state of the most abject *Slavery*. There is a difference of opinion among writers as to the proportion of Slaves in that country; but no one estimates the number at less than two-thirds of the whole population. Some even estimate the number as high as nine-tenths. Slavery, in Africa, may originate from—

1st. A voluntary act on the part of the people. It occasionally happens that the blind veneration on the part of the people, for a distinguished chief or warrior, leads them to sink voluntarily into a state of Slavery. But the number that become Slaves from this cause are few, compared to the great number that are made Slaves by—

2d. War. Wars are undertaken with the express view of getting Slaves. It frequently happens that a tribe, without the least provocation, will stealthily surround the village of a neighboring tribe at night whilst they are asleep, and all at once rush upon them, set fire to their houses—and whilst they are struggling to escape, they are seized, sent off, and sold to the Europeans as Slaves, or kept as Slaves among themselves. This subject will be treated of more particularly, hereafter.

Most of the *Governments* throughout the African continent are absolute despotisms. These

sands of bold and fearless warriors bow down and almost worship the solitary despot, and at his bidding hesitate not to commit the most horrid crimes. Some few of the smaller tribes have an aristocratic, and even a republican form of government ; but these, in every instance, are badly organized ; and, in consequence, afford but a feeble protection to the rights of society. The people in these governments, are turbulent and unhappy ; and in every respect, much more rude and licentious, than those living under the despotisms.

It is common on some portions of the African continent, to make human sacrifices, with a view of appeasing their offended deities. Missionaries, and others, have given us many accounts of this horrid enormity, which seems not to have declined with the advance of civilization in other parts of the world.

The foregoing picture of Africa furnishes conclusive evidence of their present inferiority. The same race in the United States has made some advance in civilization ; but under the most favorable circumstances under which they have existed here—even when free in the Northern, Middle and Western States, and enjoying every advantage of education—they have ever shown *their native inferiority*. The same fact is true of

the West Indies. All accounts agree that the emancipated Negroes are actually declining in civilization: that they are now in a lower state of improvement than they were when in a state of Slavery. In the Island of St. Domingo, where they have been long free, they have gradually sunk into a state of barbarism; and that fine island is now almost uncultivated. The productions have declined in the proportion of one hundred and fifty to fifteen.

II. PAST CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN.—We infer the past civilization of a fallen people, from architectural and other remains of art among them; from their religious and moral notions; and from their written, or hieroglyphical history:

1st. *Remains of Art, &c.* On no part of the African continent, inhabited by the genuine Negro, can the slightest trace of ancient art of any kind be found. No remains of temples or buildings of any kind—no walls, dykes, canals, or roads—nothing, in a word, which furnishes the slightest evidence that Africa ever made the slightest advance in the arts of civilization. In no other country, and among no other people, is the same fact true.

When the continent of America was discovered, it was found in the possession of a numerous, but

savage people. With the exception of Mexico, Peru, and a few other places, the native Indians were in possession of as little actual civilization, as the Negroes on any portion of the African continent. But notwithstanding this, we found here indubitable evidences of a past civilization: ruined walls, cities and towns, paintings, sculpture, and other remains of a similar character.

It has been maintained that the Egyptians were Negroes; but this is a great error, as we have the most indubitable evidence that the Egyptians belonged to the race of Shem. Negroes are found on some of the ancient Egyptian paintings which have lately been disintombed; but they are always found represented as prisoners of war, or as menials. We know, too, that there were Negroes in Egypt, from history; but they always occupied the lowest rank, never reaching any post higher than that of common soldier in the army.

Throughout the vast continent of Asia, whatever the present condition of the inhabitants, we find numerous evidences of ancient art: ruined cities, temples, and common buildings, paintings, statuary, and numerous other evidences of the kind, of a former civilization. In a word, wherever the white, or copper races are found, there you will find evidences of a present or past civiliza-

zation; but in no instance will you find any such evidence among the Negroes.

2d. *Religious and Moral Notions.* One of the strongest evidences of the past civilization of a people, is the existence among them of enlarged and liberal views of the Deity, and of moral principle: and the absence of all such notions among them, is evidence conclusive, that they have never enjoyed any very high degree of civilization. Civilization depends on the action of the intellectual and moral faculties of man; and one of the results of this action is, exalted notions of God, and of moral principle: and when such notions once exist in a nation; they are never forgotten, though there may not be in the nation a single human being that correctly understands their import. Such was the fact in reference to the various savage tribes inhabiting this continent when first discovered. An idea of the GREAT SPIRIT was universal among them; though there was, probably, not an Indian on the continent that could have originated the idea, if it had by any means been extinguished. The lowest savage tribes among them—such as the Caribs, the Ottowas, Algonquins, the Hurons, &c., had a very correct idea of a great FIRST CAUSE.

Exalted notions of the Deity, and pure and ele-

vated moral conceptions, exist among every tribe throughout the continent of Asia. With the exception of our Bible, no book in the world contains more elevated views of the Deity, than the *Shastra*—the Bible of the Hindoos. No Christian will object to the sentiments contained in the following passage taken from the *Shastra* :

“He who considers the Being that is infinite, incomprehensible and pure, as finite, perceptible by the senses, limited by time and place, subject to passion and anger, what a crime is such a robber of Divine Majesty not guilty of! Acts and rites that originate in the movements of the hands and other members of the body, being perishable, cannot effect beatitude that is eternal. Those who worship forms under appellations, continue subject to form and appellation; for no perishable means can effect the acquisition of an imperishable end.”

Among the Negroes of Africa, there does not exist the slightest evidence that they ever enjoyed at any period of their history, any elevated or refined notions of the Deity. Their minds seem never to have extended beyond material, sensible objects; for these alone they worship, without the least reference to any thing beyond. This fact furnishes conclusive evidence that their reasoning powers have never been developed; otherwise they would have penetrated beyond mere outward

objects, and to some extent, have reached a knowledge of the principles and agencies by which they were formed and are governed.

In the lowest state of Savage life, the darkened mind can see **nothing** but material, sensible objects, to which it **bows** with the homage and adoration due only to the Creator. The native African seems never to have advanced beyond this first stage of mental action.

In a more advanced state of society, in which the powers of reasoning have become, to some extent, developed—a knowledge of an active, intelligent agent is attained, to which the mind pays its homage, but generally through the instrumentality of material objects. This is the case in Hindostan, China, &c.

In a more exalted state of mental improvement, the mind dispenses with all material forms, and pays to the Supreme Intelligence a pure, spiritual worship. The existence among the Catholics of images of CHRIST, his Apostles, and various Saints, through which they worship, is an evidence that religious worship among them has not reached the elevation of pure spirituality. It is an evidence that the mind is still, to a great extent, under the influence of external, material objects—that it cannot separate the idea of matter

from spirit; but is compelled to use the former to pay homage to the latter.

3d. *Written History, and Hieroglyphical Inscriptions.*—The past condition of a nation may be known from written history, or from hieroglyphical inscriptions, as in Egypt and some other countries: but as letters are now, and always have been, entirely unknown to the native African, we have no correct and continuous history of Africa. We have, however, some account of ancient Africa from Herodotus, the earliest Greek historian, Diodorus, and Strabo; and of modern Africa we have an account from travellers, who at various times have been through that country, and published an account of their observations. All accounts, ancient and modern, represent the native African as wholly uncivilized. Not a step has he advanced beyond the bounds of ancient barbarism, but he is as stationary as the beasts of his native forests, or as the rocks and hills of his native land.

These facts prove the past and present inferiority of the African, and I think we are authorized to draw the conclusion that this inferiority is natural, and not the result of circumstances. A fact which has always been the same, under all circumstances, must be a general fact, or law of

nature. From such data we draw general conclusions in natural science, and establish general principles, or laws of nature: this mode of reasoning constitutes the distinctive feature of the Baconian, or inductive method of reasoning; the establishment of which, is esteemed as the greatest achievement of the greatest mind of modern times.

The inferiority of the Negro is proven further from anatomy and physiology, as I shall now proceed very briefly to show:

There is less beauty in the general form and outline of the Negro than in that of the white man. He has a flat, ugly foot; evidently designed, like the foot of the camel, to tread upon the sands of the great tropical deserts. There is, in all the works of God, a harmony and adaptation of the parts to each other, which evince the highest possible degree of wisdom and goodness. The Negro has a black, thick skin, which emits a disagreeable odor; thick, woolly hair; a large mouth; ugly features; thick lips; a small calf to his leg, situated near the knee; a projecting shin bone. In a word, there is in the whole outline of the Negro, much less of symmetry and beauty than in that of the white man.

From these external characteristics, I infer that

the Negro was designed by his Creator to live in southern climates; and, in fact, we always find him, when left alone, living in hot countries. He is much more healthy, happy, and lives to a much more advanced age, in such climates, than in more northern regions. Tropical regions, which are destructive to the constitution of the white man when much exposed, are in the highest degree friendly to the constitution of the Negro: there, and there alone, is external nature in perfect harmony with his physical nature.

It may be said that nothing can be inferred as to the inferiority of the Negro, from the absence of physical beauty; but persons making this objection, have made but slight advances in the philosophy of nature. Perfection, excellency, and beauty, are united throughout nature. Take, for instance, a particular plant or animal: the fine-blooded horse—how infinitely more beautiful than the coarse, scrub animal, of the same species! The former is clean in limb, beautiful in all his proportions, and graceful in every movement. The hair, the eye, hoof—in a word, every part and feature indicates his superiority; whilst every part of the scrub indicates his inferiority. The same differences prevail throughout the animal, as well as vegetable kingdom. We might then

have inferred *a priori* that such was also the case in reference to the human family; and this, as I have stated, we find actually to be the case.

But the Negro has other physical peculiarities which fit him for the situation that he occupies on this continent, and which I shall now proceed to mention.

Every one has observed at the inner corner of the eye of fowls, a semi-lunar membrane, which moves with great rapidity over the eye, when exposed to the solar rays. This has been called by naturalists, the *nictitating* membrane. It is designed to direct the course of the tears, and to protect the eye from the intense rays of the sun. In the eye of the white man, this membrane is very small, and seems only to direct the tears into a *sac* situated behind and below a small prominence at the inner *canthus* of the eye. In the Negro, this membrane is greatly expanded; and serves, in addition to the purpose of directing the tears, as in the white man, to protect the eye, as in the case of fowls, from the effects of the solar rays.

This membrane serves as a protection to the Negro against the effects of the hardships, necessarily incident to the condition of Slavery.

"The Master," says Dr. CARTWRIGHT, of Natchez, "may forget or neglect to provide his Slaves

with a covering for the head, to shield the eyes from the brilliancy of the sun, while laboring in the fields. Such neglect would greatly increase the irksomeness of labor, under a tropical sun, if God, in his goodness, had not provided the race of Canaan, whom he has doomed to Slavery, with the above-mentioned anatomical contrivance, or membranous wing, to protect the eyes against the brightness of the solar rays.”*

The difference between the Negro and the white man extends even to the intimate structure of their organs. The brain proper—that is, the *cerebrum*—in the Negro, is about ten per cent. smaller than it is in the white man: and in texture it is coarser, more watery and flabby. When put into a dish it sinks loosely down, instead of standing firm and erect, as in the case of the higher orders of white men. The head of Lord Byron was small; and was, in consequence, said to contradict one of the fundamental principles of phrenology, viz: “that size, *ceteris paribus*, is a measure of power;” but after the death of his lordship, his brain was taken out and weighed—and to the astonishment of all, was found heavier than most brains of the largest size. The brain of the Baron Cuvier, though in appearance one-third larger, was only one or two drachms heavier.

* *Southern Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1842—p. 332.

This great weight of the brain of his lordship, was owing to its extreme density. Its whole texture was firm and solid, the fibres compact, and the whole organ exceedingly free from water. When put into a dish, the parts firmly adhered together : so much so that it would have answered for dissection, without the usual process of hardening. Now the same difference that exists between the brain of Lord Byron, and those of ordinary individuals, exists between the white and black races of men. The power of Byron lay in the density of his brain ; and the mental superiority of the white over the black race, is owing to the superior size and density of the brain.

Whatever may be said of phrenology in all its details, one position I consider established beyond controversy, viz: "that the brain is the seat of mind." This principle being true, it follows that the efficiency and power of the mind must depend on the efficiency and power of the brain. The inferiority of the Negro is thus clearly manifest.

But the difference between the white and black races does not end here ; there is a considerable difference even in the bones. This extends not only to the general outline, but to their intimate structure. In general outline, the bones of the white man are much more elegant, smooth and

symmetrical ; all the protuberances are rounder, smoother, and the angles less abrupt than those of the Negro. The bones of the Negro are of a more dingy color, more spongy in structure, and coarser grained, than those of the white man. Among the higher orders of the white race, the bones have almost the appearance of ivory. I have a large cabinet of skulls and other bones, both of animals and men ; and hence my opportunities are good to make observations. I find a great difference in the texture of these bones ; those of the higher orders have almost the whiteness and density of ivory. Among the number is the skull of a French nobleman, and a number belonging to the race of Canaan. The former is handsome in all its parts, the processes all handsomely rounded, and the texture dense, firm, and white, like ivory. On the contrary, the bones belonging to the Negro are coarse-grained, spongy in texture, dingy and rough. The base of the skull, inside, has the appearance of being hewed out with a foot-adz. It is said that the skull of Byron, when sawed across to take out the brain, had very much the appearance of ivory.

A skillful observer can distinguish temperament from the bones alone. This I have so frequently observed, that no doubt can exist upon the subject.

The difference in the structure of the organs between the white and the black man, is not restricted to the parts mentioned, but extends to the muscles, nerves, blood-vessels, hair, skin and every other structure and organ about the body. In all, the white man shows his superiority of temperament, and his consequent greater elevation in the scale of being.

The foregoing facts very clearly prove the inferiority of the Negro; but it may be argued, that as all men have sprung from the same original stock, this inferiority is the result of unfavorable circumstances, which, when removed, will soon elevate the Negro to his original equality with the white man. This objection is urged by both Northern and Southern men; even some of my most intimate friends—men in whom I have much confidence—make use of it. I have been led, in consequence, to the observance of extreme caution in drawing my conclusions; but this has only tended to confirm me in my conclusions.

That all men sprung from the same original stock, is what I firmly and conscientiously believe. I cannot agree with Dr. NORR and others, that there have been several distinct creations of men; there is no warrant in the Bible for such a con-

clusion, nor is its admission essential to a clear understanding of the differences among men. In making the acknowledgement that all men have sprung from the same original stock, I still maintain the natural inferiority of the Negro, and that this inferiority is not the result of circumstances. Chronological accuracy is unattainable, as there are more than three hundred computations for the creation and deluge ; but we can, nevertheless, approximate sufficiently near to the truth to answer all the purposes that I have in view.

The creation may be set down as having occurred six thousand years ago, and the flood four thousand three hundred and fifty. The flood destroyed all mankind, with the exception of Noah, his wife, his three sons, and their wives : from these the earth was peopled.

Now, the fact has been placed beyond all doubt, that Egypt had an existence as a nation, and was in a most flourishing condition, nearly four thousand years ago. This brings us within a few centuries of the flood. Sesostriis, the great Egyptian conqueror, lived and flourished nearly four thousand years ago ; yet there were real, genuine Negroes in his army. Herodotus—the earliest Greek historian, and who was remarkable for the accuracy with which he detailed facts and events

—in speaking of the expedition of Sesostris, which he says extended as far as Thrace and Scythia, adds, that “The inhabitants of Colchis, on the north side of the Black Sea, appear to be descended from a portion of the army of Sesostris, which remained there; and at all events are real Egyptians, for they are *black, with woolly hair.*” It might be inferred from this last remark, that the Egyptians were real Negroes; but we have evidence from the paintings, and other sources, that such is not the fact. The real Egyptian is always represented in the paintings as a descendant of Shem, and not of Ham.

Negroes are found as prisoners of war, on the paintings which have been recovered from the sepulchres; but they are never represented in any higher capacity than as common soldiers, or as menials. Dr. S. G. MORTON, of Philadelphia, the very best authority on this subject, says that —“The physical, or organic characters, which distinguish the several races of men, are as old as the earliest records of our species.”

From the above facts and statements, it is very manifest, that if the physical differences among men are the result of circumstances—as climate, modes of living, &c., the whole change must have occurred within a very short time after the flood;

for it is very evident that no material change has occurred within the last four thousand years. This is unreasonable, and contradicts universal experience; for we have been intimately acquainted with the Negro for centuries past: he has lived in all climates: he has even been in the United States for two centuries past—yet no material physical change has occurred. The white race of men, too, has lived in all climates; yet we do not find them in hot climates turning to Negroes, nor even making an approximation to it. They become a little tanned, it is true; but they never lose the characteristics of the white man. We have, then, a right to infer that the physical characteristics of the Negro are not the result of ordinary circumstances.

In this connection, I take the liberty of introducing a letter from a distinguished gentleman, in reply to one from myself:

“PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 27, 1845.

“*Dear Sir:*

“Your favor of the 15th inst., is just received. In respect to the physical differences observable among men, I am convinced, from extensive observation and much reflection, that they are coeval with the primitive dispersion of our race. External agents, climate, locality, food, moral causes, &c., all act by modifying the original

types; but they never efface them. There is a limit beyond which they cease to operate. In other words, I do not believe these agents ever converted a white man into a Negro, or a Negro into a white man. The *amalgamation* of races, as every one knows, produces every grade or variety between the two extremes.

"I do not think the Negroes are descendants of Ham. The ancient Egyptians were a Hamitic people, and their position in the scale of races is intermediate between the Japetic and Semitic stocks. Whence then, you will inquire, came the Negroes? On this point, I confess, I cannot enlighten you. Ethnography is a new science, and I am but a learner. I am glad you are giving your attention to this pleasing and instructive study, and will have pleasure in communicating any thing I know of it. I send a pamphlet or two, and remain yours very respectfully,

"DR. M. ESTES."

"S. G. MORTON."

I have already mentioned those physical characteristics which adapt the Negro to exposure in Southern latitudes. I will now mention a few other peculiarities which fit him admirably for the condition of Slavery; and which show, in fact, that nature intended him for that position.

The inferior brain of the Negro disposes him to submit to the authority of the white man. The superior governs the inferior, throughout nature: we see this daily displayed in the commanding in-

fluence gained by some men over the enlightened population of the United States. A strong man is instantly recognized in society; and all with whom he comes in contact, feel and acknowledge his authority. This is one of the reasons why the black race of men submit so readily and cheerfully to the authority of the white race. They feel and acknowledge their inferiority; and in consequence, Slavery is not in the least regarded as a degradation, but as their proper and natural position. That cheerful submission to authority displayed by the Negro Slave, is entirely unknown among the other varieties of men, when reduced to Slavery. They are always restless, turbulent, and disobedient to their superiors.

On several occasions, in this country, the loyalty of the Negro to his Master, was put to the severest test. During the two wars that we had with England, repeated attempts were made to stir up insurrection among the Negroes, or to induce them to run away and leave their Masters; but almost universally without success.

In the year 1775, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, issued his proclamation, calling on the Negroes to join His Majesty's forces, and at the same time declaring them absolved from all further obligation to serve their Masters. His lord-

ship was high in authority—had the British and Tories to back him—and though every effort was made to acquaint the Negroes with the purport of the proclamation, still but few Slaves could be induced to abandon their homes: the great body remained true to their Masters.

During both wars, the South was found the very bulwark of the Republic. The ready submission of the Negro to his Master, under the most trying circumstances, enabled the Southern States to send into the field the larger portion of the white population able to bear arms. The Negroes remained at home and cultivated the farms, and thus raised provisions necessary for the support of the army. In some of the counties of Virginia—those containing the largest black population—it often happened during the late war, that almost the entire male adult white population was in the field. Notwithstanding this, however, no serious disturbances ever occurred, though the counties lay within a few miles of the British fleet, and though the Negroes were aware that an offer of liberty had been made them, if they would abandon their Masters, and join the British forces.

Dr. CARTWRIGHT mentions one slight disturbance, on one of the plantations in Virginia. The

Negroes, it seems, from some cause, became somewhat unruly; but a lame man in the neighborhood, entirely unarmed, except with a whip, went over and flogged the whole of them. They all submitted to the flogging without the least offer of resistance; though a British fleet was lying within ten miles at the time. During the war, Mrs. Madison, from an apprehension that the English were desirous of making her a prisoner, retired to the strongest Slave counties in the State of Virginia, for protection.

No other people ever exhibited the same fidelity, when in a state of Slavery. The white, or copper man, when enslaved, will leave no means untried to effect their emancipation; but the Negro, similarly situated, will not only neglect the use of means to effect his liberation, but will absolutely refuse the boon of freedom when offered to him. I do not believe, conscientiously, that one Slave in ten, in the United States, could be induced to accept the offer of freedom, if accompanied with the condition that they were to leave the United States. This has been tested again and again. I recollect a family of Negroes that were liberated and sent to Liberia. When freedom was first offered with the condition, they obstinately refused to accept the terms; but when

they saw that resistance was useless, they submitted—with tears and heartfelt agony. Ever since their settlement in Liberia, they have repeatedly expressed a wish to return to the United States, and again become Slaves for life.

Since the first introduction of Slavery into the United States to the present time, there has never occurred any very serious disturbance among the Negroes. On two or three occasions we have had temporary outbreaks, in which a few whites lost their lives ; but these amount to nothing, compared to the outbreaks and disturbances among the peasantry in countries where Negro Slavery does not prevail. In England, France, Ireland, and in fact in all other countries, outbreak after outbreak has occurred among the people, and hundreds upon hundreds of lives have been lost. These disturbances have occurred, notwithstanding the existence of standing armies—maintained at great public expense—to keep the people in subjection. No standing army is necessary to preserve due subordination among our Negroes: we do not, in fact, keep up in most parts of the country, even an efficient patrol. The planter sleeps as securely among his Slaves, without the least precaution, as if he were surrounded by a whole brigade of grenadiers. Though born and

reared among Negroes, and having been with them all my life, the idea of alarm never once entered my head; nor does it enter the head of any one, who has resided any length of time at the South.

In another respect the Negro differs from any other Slave. His situation excites in his mind not the slightest idea of degradation: on the contrary, he feels perfectly content, from a conviction that his position is one which is proper and natural for him. The laboring classes of England and other countries, in contrasting their condition with the condition of the higher orders, feel a burning sense of degradation; and of course are discontented, unhappy, and turbulent. This is always the case, when the white man holds the white man in bondage; or what amounts to the same thing as bondage, a state of hopeless poverty, which is a more powerful motive of submission to superiors, than absolute Slavery itself. Our Negroes are contented with their lot, and desire not to change it; they have a consciousness that they are fitted for it, and feel a perfect contempt for any white man that places himself on an equality with them.

But there is another important peculiarity which *has an important bearing on the well-being of the*

Negro in a state of Slavery. I allude to a kind of stubbornness which induces him to resist every attempt to force him to the performance of more than a reasonable amount of labor. You may hurry the Negro somewhat, in cases of necessity—but whenever you attempt to make him perform habitually, more labor than he thinks reasonable and just, he will obstinately resist; and in the end, put you to more cost and trouble than a little. Most Masters, after a while, arrive at the very humane and rational conclusion, that their interests are subserved by only moderately working their Slaves; and so well regulated now are the plantations, within the range of my knowledge, that the Overseers are hardly ever compelled to chastise the grown up Slaves. I know several plantations, having from fifty to one hundred Slaves, where the whipping of an adult is almost entirely unknown. This is owing to the well-regulated plantation discipline which prevails in the country. They know the amount of labor that the Negroes will cheerfully perform, and they never attempt to push them beyond this. Owing to this characteristic of the Negro, it is almost impossible to overwork them: such a thing has never occurred, within the range of my knowledge. Between the Negro and other varieties of

men, there is a wide difference in this particular. The white man, when in bondage, or otherwise under the control of others, can be easily forced to the performance of a degree of labor much beyond his strength and capacity. To this cause is owing the many ruined constitutions among the laboring population of England, and other countries. They are placed under their employers, or others, and forced to perform a degree of labor which is utterly destructive to the constitution. Under similar circumstances, the Negro would resist; and if the effort was made still to force him, he would become obstinate and stubborn, and finally run away—and otherwise put his Master to so much trouble as to induce him, as a matter of interest, to demand in future only a reasonable amount of labor. Every one acquainted with the Negro, is aware of this peculiarity. I do not think, with some, that it results from a peculiar instinct, but from a certain hardihood of constitution, which, as in the case of the mule, gives great power of endurance.

CHAPTER IV.

AFRICAN SLAVERY: ITS HISTORY: SLAVE TRADE.

It would be incompatible with the design of a work like this, to go into any thing like a minute history of Slavery, or the Slave Trade; but it may be permitted briefly to allude to these subjects.

African Slavery was probably coeval with the existence of the African race. Canaan, one of the acknowledged progenitors of the African, was doomed to be "*a servant of servants to his brethren.*" (Gen. ix. 25.) His very name, as before remarked, was prophetic of his destiny; and it furnishes a very conclusive evidence that God designed from the beginning, that his descendants should act in the capacity of servants.

When the Children of Israel reached the Promised Land, they found it in the possession of several different tribes; most, if not all of whom, were of the descendants of Canaan. Some of these tribes were destroyed; but one of them, the Gibeonites, were made "hewers of wood and

drawers of water," or in other words, were made perpetual bondmen.

In the ninth chapter of Joshua, we have an account of this enslavement of the Gibeonites: they practiced a deception upon the Israelites, in order to save their lives; for which they were reduced to perpetual bondage. This they submitted to, readily and cheerfully.

African Slavery existed in ancient Greece, and in many other countries, both ancient and modern. It has existed in Africa since its first settlement by the Negroes—now not less than four thousand years past. The Negro population of Africa is estimated at sixty millions: of this number, some estimate the Slave population at nine-tenths. This may be too high—probably two-thirds, or forty millions, would be a fair estimate.

In a subsequent chapter, I design drawing a parallel between Slavery as it exists in Africa, and in this country; and to some extent, the parallel will be extended to Slavery as it exists in other countries—for practically, I maintain, Slavery exists in almost every country. At present, I will make a few remarks on Slavery, as it exists in Africa.

Mungo Park, the Rev. Stephen Ray, and others, have given us a number of important partic-

ulars of African Society. It seems, from the accounts given, that there exists between the different tribes, a constant state of hostility. Like the Ishmaelites of old, and the Comanche Indians of Texas and Mexico, these tribes are against all men, and all men against them. Their wars are undertaken with various pretexts: at times for plunder, and at other times to make Slaves of their enemies.

Mungo Park informs us that the king of Dahomey is engaged in perpetual wars, not only with a view to acquire Slaves, but in order to get his enemies, to water the graves of his ancestors with their blood. The tombs, palaces, and temples of his capitol, are ornamented with the skulls and jaw-bones of his enemies captured in war. The floors of his private chambers, and halls of audience, are paved with these bones; and it is considered a sufficient cause for war, that the graves of his ancestors want "more watering," or that his palace wants a new covering. It very often happens that a tribe, without the least previous warning, or without the least provocation, will surround by night the village of a neighboring tribe, set fire to the houses, and either put the whole village to the slaughter, or spare such as they think will make useful Slaves—slaugh-

tering the old men, children, and many of the women..

The African Master has the most unlimited control over his Slaves, especially those whom he has purchased with his money, or taken in war. He can, if he sees proper, put them to death, or otherwise treat them in the most inhuman manner. Travellers in Africa, mention numerous instances of inhumanity to servants. Sometimes they are confined to the earth until they are nearly stung to death by a large poisonous ant of that country: at other times they are almost burned to death; and where they become useless from age, infirmity, or from any other cause, they are put to death, as any planter would put to death a worthless dog. Our Negroes here are in Paradise, in comparison with the Negro Slaves in Africa.

I shall, hereafter, say something more in reference to the condition of the African in his native country, and by comparison show the superior happiness of the Slaves in this country.

I wish now to direct the attention of the reader to the African Slave Trade; but my remarks must be brief, as it would be incompatible with the design of a work like this, to go into any thing like an extended notice of this subject. This trade,

existed long before the discovery of this continent by Columbus. As early as the year 990, it was regularly carried on by Moorish merchants from Barbary. It was regularly established and carried on by Europeans, at least half a century before the discovery of this continent by Columbus. The Portuguese were the first Europeans that engaged in it: cupidity, and a hatred of all that differed with them on the subject of the Christian religion, were the motives that impelled them to this traffic. The Spaniards soon followed the Portuguese, and very early took the lead in the trade.

The first Slaves brought to the New World, were landed in Hispaniola, about the year 1500. At first, the trade was, probably, contraband; "but a royal edict soon permitted Negro Slaves, born in Slavery among Christians, to be transported to Hispaniola." In the year 1503—only two years after the royal permission to bring in Slaves—so many had arrived, that the Governor, Orvando, became alarmed; and begged that no more be permitted to enter the island.

The pretext at first set up in order to cover the design of the traffic—of importing such Slaves only as had been bred in Christian families, with a view of converting the native Indians to Chris-

—was soon abandoned, as the value of Negro Slave labor became every day more and more apparent. It was found, in fact, utterly impossible to cultivate sugar, and other tropical products, with out the assistance of Negro Slaves, as their constitutions were alone found capable of enduring exposure in tropical climates.

In the year 1510, Ferdinand, himself, then king of Spain, sent over fifty Slaves from Seville, to work in the mines of Hispaniola. And as the value of the African became more and more apparent, one of them being considered equal to four natives, a direct traffic was permitted between Guinea and Hispaniola.

Charles V. sanctioned the trade, and the benevolent Las Casas suggested a further continuance of the traffic, as it had then (1517) become apparent that the constitution of the Negro was eminently fitted for hard labor in a hot climate, whilst the native Indian, when reduced to Slavery, and forced to work, melted away like dew before the rising sun.

As before intimated, a minute history of Slavery and the Slave Trade is incompatible with the design of a work like this—I must therefore content myself with only brief notices. The trade continued to flourish: great numbers of Slaves

were brought over, but it is said that it was never sanctioned by the Roman See. Some of the Roman pontiffs, as Leo X. and Paul III., took a bold and decided stand against it.

Sir John Hawkins was the first Englishman that engaged in this trade. In the year 1562, he imported a cargo of Slaves into the island of Hispaniola, and carried back a rich return cargo—consisting of ginger, sugar, and pearls. Queen Elizabeth was so much charmed with the rich cargo of Hawkins, that she readily encouraged the traffic; and even formed a copartnership with him in the trade, with a view to future profit. The trade with the Spanish ports was illicit: nevertheless, the queen did not hesitate to incur its hazards, for the sake of its profits.

In the year 1645, a vessel belonging to a man by the name of Thomas Keyser, and another by the name of James Smith—the latter, a member of the Church, at Boston—brought in a cargo of African Slaves from Guinea; but such was the opposition to the traffic, that the Negroes were sent back at the public charge, with a strong expression of indignation on the part of the General Assembly.

In the State of Virginia, conditional servitude under indentures was permitted from the first.

Numerous white servants were bought in England, Ireland, and other countries, sent over, and sold to the Virginia colonists as Slaves for a certain period of years. In the year 1620, the first cargo of African Slaves was brought to the State of Virginia by a Dutch man-of-war, and sold. The cargo consisted of only twenty Negroes.

At first, the increase of Negroes in the State of Virginia was very slow; for, at the end of thirty years from the commencement of the trade, the colony contained fifty whites for every black. The number of Slaves, however, rapidly increased afterwards; so much so, that it was not long before they were as numerous as the whites.

In the year 1671, Negro Slavery was introduced into South-Carolina, by Sir John Yeamans, who brought over a cargo from Barbadoes. Unlike the other colonies, South-Carolina had African Slaves from the beginning: and their increase there was very rapid; for, in a short while, they exceeded the white population, in the proportion of twenty to twelve. This rapid increase, was owing to the fact, which very soon became apparent, that exposure to the sun and severe toil in a hot climate—whilst in the highest degree unfriendly to the constitution of the white man—was well adapted to the Negro. The Negro

seems to have been adapted by his Creator to a southern climate ; for, in such climates alone does he enjoy health, longevity, and general hardihood of constitution. According to the census of the United States for 1840, mortality, and all diseases among the colored population, increases as you advance north. This result may, in part, be owing to the wretched condition of the free Negroes at the North : but this cause is not sufficient to account for the whole phenomenon ; for even the free Negroes in southern climates—whose condition is equally wretched with that of the free Negroes at the north—are in a much better condition, physically. The Creator has adapted the constitution of particular animals and men, to particular localities on the earth's surface. Thus the rein-deer is adapted to the arctic regions ; lions, tigers, &c., to the tropical regions ; these animals, if taken from their appropriate latitudes, will very soon sicken and die. The same is true of man ; some flourish best in the arctic regions—others in the temperate—and others, again, in the equatorial regions. The Caucasian flourishes best in the northern portions of the temperate regions—the Negro in the tropical, and southern portions of the temperate—the copper races of men have been commonly found occupying territories inter-

mediate to the white and black. Hence it is not surprising that Negro Slavery should have so early taken root in the southern colonies of this continent—and have been so early resisted, and so soon abandoned in the northern.

The Dutch, who settled New-York, engaged largely in the Slave Trade; but the climate of this colony was found so very unfriendly to the Negro constitution, that Negro Slavery never flourished there as it did in the more southern colonies.

Negro Slavery was, at first, prohibited in Georgia; but afterwards, its necessity became so apparent, that all parties concurred in the propriety of repealing the restrictive laws, and of establishing the institution.

The Slave Trade, which, from the beginning, was encouraged by England and other European nations, was most violently resisted by the English colonies in North-America. These colonies, therefore, are not at all answerable for any sin, should there be any, which may have been connected with the trade. The mother country continued the traffic in utter disregard of the repeated remonstrances of the colonies.

The first continental Congress that assumed the power of legislation, which was in the year

1776, *Resolved*, "That no Slaves be imported into any of the Thirteen United Colonies;" and there has been, from that time until the present, a continued opposition to the trade in this country. Great Britain, on the contrary, did not pass laws against this trade for a great number of years afterwards. I shall, hereafter, most conclusively prove that the opposition of England to Slavery, and the Slave Trade, is not based upon philanthropic, but upon selfish motives. The great mistake committed by her in the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies, and the great wish that she has to promote her tropical interests, generally—constitutes the leading motives, under the guise of philanthropy, in this crusade against Slavery and the Slave Trade. The letter of the Hon. J. C. Calhoun to Mr. King, contains many interesting details on this subject, which will be freely used in a subsequent part of this work. It will be seen that England, being now fully aware of the great blunder committed by her in abolishing the institution of Slavery in the West Indies, is desirous of repairing the injury done, by bringing about abolition in the United States, and other countries having tropical possessions in competition with her own.

The number of Negro Slaves in the United

States has gradually increased until, in 1840, the number was near three millions. Our laws have long since declared the Slave Trade, piracy; and to be punished as such: nevertheless, Slaves have continued to be smuggled into the Union at different points. This smuggling has been mostly carried on by foreigners, and in spite of the greatest vigilance on the part of our Government.

The Slave Trade has been most generally condemned, by even the advocates of Slavery; but, I think, without sufficient reflection. I do not wish to be understood as justifying, for a moment, the many cruelties said to have been committed by those engaged in this trade. These I condemn as heartily as the most determined opponent of Slavery could desire. But notwithstanding this, I do not hesitate for a moment in maintaining that the Slave Trade has been the source of incalculable blessings to mankind. Just so far as African Slavery in the United States is superior to African Slavery as it exists in Africa—viewed in its immediate condition and ultimate consequences—just so much good has resulted from the Slave Trade.

I have before remarked that the larger proportion of the population of Africa are in a state of perpetual, and most abject Slavery. And it is a

well known fact, that the larger number of them which have been sold into foreign Slavery, were in a state of Slavery in their own country : consequently there is, in this respect, no injury done to the African. He is equally, if not more free, here, than he was in Africa. They were sold by their African owners to the Slave Traders ; and by these latter, brought to this country and sold to the planters. Kidnapping, has, no doubt, been occasionally practised in Africa ; but the number of Slaves obtained in this manner, have been very few in comparison with the great number which were obtained by purchase from their African Masters.

It has been often objected to the Slave Trade, that it has been the source of wars among the natives—gotten up, and urged on, by foreigners—with the view of getting a supply of Slaves. This may have taken place to some extent ; but not with any thing like the frequency which has been imagined. I have before remarked that the several African tribes are in a state of perpetual hostility, and that one of the maxims of war among them is, *Extermination or Slavery*. The old, the infirm, the helpless infant, and, in many instances, the female, are put to death ; and that, too ; very often, in the most brutal manner. The able-

bodied men and women are retained alive, and reduced to Slavery. They may, or may not sell them into foreign Slavery : that will depend greatly upon the supply at home. Most intelligent travellers agree that these wars would occur with nearly the same frequency, if the Slave Trade had never existed. But even admitting the fact that these wars have been rendered somewhat more frequent by the Slave Trade, there is an advantage resulting from this trade which will much more than counterbalance this evil. Where Slaves are very numerous in Africa, they are in a measure worthless to their owners ; consequently, no regard is paid to their lives, or to their interest, in any way. On the death of a distinguished man, thousands of these worthless Slaves are put to death, in order that he may have suitable attendance in the future world. Now the foreign Slave Trade, by raising the value of the Slaves, has greatly tended to prevent the destruction of life in the cases referred to—and has, in fact, greatly tended to ameliorate the condition of the Slave generally. The number of Slaves put to death in such cases, as might be inferred, will be in proportion to their value : if they are valuable, and can, in consequence, be sold at a high price to foreigners, but few, comparatively, will

be sacrificed ; but if, on the contrary, the Slaves have but little value on account of their great numbers, the sacrifices are numerous. On some occasions, thousands of Slaves are put to death, in order to satisfy the appetite of a merciless superstition.

In drawing a parallel between Slavery in the United States, in Africa, and in other countries, this subject will be resumed. I think it will be made appear to the satisfaction of every candid and intelligent person, that the African has gained much by being transported to this country—that his condition has been improved, physically, intellectually, morally, religiously, and politically. The Negro evidently enjoys a larger amount of freedom even, than he did in his own country.

CHAPTER V.

ADVANTAGES OF SLAVERY AS IT EXISTS IN THE SOUTHERN STATES OF THIS UNION.

Numerous important advantages result from the institution of Slavery in this country, to which I will now respectfully invite the attention of the

reader. These advantages embrace the Slave, the Master, the Country, and the World, generally; or at least, that part of it holding commercial intercourse with the United States.

I. THE SLAVE.—The advantages to the Slave are very great—

1st. The Negro Slave is contented and happy in his present condition. If the Negro Slave felt himself degraded in his condition of Slavery, and was, in consequence, discontented and unhappy, this alone would poison every enjoyment. But such is not the fact: he is contented and happy, and feels not the slightest degree of degradation in his condition. He knows that color, and his natural inferiority, have erected an impassable barrier between him and the white man; he, therefore, never thinks of aspiring to an equality with him.

It has been remarked by almost every one who has visited the South, and made himself acquainted with the condition of our Slaves, that there is more light-hearted joyousness among them, than among any similar number of people in the world. Having been born at the South, and reared on a plantation, I have enjoyed a fair opportunity of knowing the character and state of mind of our *Slaves*. I have ever found the Slaves contented,

happy, light-hearted, and full of amusement. The oldest Negroes never get old in their feelings; but they continue light-hearted, and full of sport to the last. Even when worn down by age and infirmity so as to be unable to get about, they still continue contented and happy in their feelings—as ready as ever to tell stories, and make merry.

(This state of happiness is only true of the Negro when in Slavery; for free Negroes are the most unhappy creatures upon earth. Many of them, even after having purchased their freedom, become so discontented and unhappy as to desire ardently to be again restored to a state of Slavery.

It is almost needless to contrast the contented, happy state of our blacks, with the discontented, unhappy state of the operatives in other countries. Speeches of members of Parliament in England, reports of committees of the House, reports of special committees appointed by town and county meetings to examine into the condition of the poor, and reports of commissioners of the poor, present us with a horrid picture of society in England. In many parts of the realm, nearly one half of the population are on the pauper list. In some places, the tax on land to support the poor is so heavy, that farms are voluntarily abandoned by

their owners, on account of their inability to pay the tax.

Besides the paupers in England, there is a very large class—probably more than half the population—on the very verge of pauperism; the least reduction of their wages, or any depression in business, has the effect of reducing them to a state of want. On account of this state of things, there is almost a universal state of discontent among the people: this leads them frequently to acts of violence—such as tearing up bridges, burning houses, and other acts of violence of a similar character. To keep the people in a state of obedience, a standing army is always necessary. How different the state of things in this country! Here, no standing army is necessary to keep any portion of our population, white or black, in a state of obedience to the laws. We do not, in most parts of the Union, especially South, keep up even an efficient patrol; and yet there are no outbreaks, or insubordination of any kind, among any portion of our people. But—

2d. Slavery is beneficial to the Negro in a *Religious* point of view. Our Slave population cannot, at this time, be less than three millions of souls; and of this number, at the lowest possible estimate, we have six hundred thousand Church

communicants. Four times this number regularly attend Divine service: thus we have at least two millions of Slaves, who regularly attend preaching. Nearly one half of some of our most popular religious denominations, are colored persons.

In proportion to numbers, our Negroes are not in the least behind the whites in religious zeal and activity. Our blacks, in fact, have very strong religious sentiments—possess great earnestness and zeal in their religious devotions, and in the discharge of the practical duties growing out of their religious profession. Infidelity among them is almost entirely unknown, even where they are well-informed in Christianity. I need hardly repeat that this sin is exceedingly common among the whites, especially at the North, and more especially still, in the good abolition city of Boston.

Our Negroes have religious advantages altogether superior to the laboring population of any country in Europe; and equal to the common class of operatives in our Northern States. The large majority of our black population have the advantage of listening to white preachers, as often as most people desire to hear preaching at all; and besides, they have meetings of their own as often as they please, at which they have prayers

and exhortations by preachers of their own color: and many of their preachers being able to read, are enabled to expound the Scriptures, so as very much to enlighten their less informed brethren. The great body of our colored population living in the vicinity of towns, have the advantage of hearing preaching as often as they wish: in some parts of the country they have not this advantage, but in this particular they are not in the least behind the whites, for all are exactly in the same situation. But every one able to go about, can hear preaching once in two weeks, or once in a month at farthest. In most cases where the Negroes, from any cause, are deprived of regular preaching, they have meetings of their own, and regular services by persons of their own color.

Missionaries are now regularly sent among the blacks in all cases where they live remote from places of regular worship. In many cases, Masters owning a large number of Slaves, will build meeting-houses, and employ preachers themselves to preach to their Negroes. In some parts of the country, Sabbath Schools are opened on every Sabbath day for the benefit of the Negroes, and this would have been almost universal but for the interference of abolitionists: so these friends of the Negro may thank themselves for this re-

striction of the privileges of the Negro. Many of our Negroes can read the New Testament as well as the great mass of uneducated whites; and even where they cannot read, they acquire an extent of Scripture knowledge which is truly surprising. Having nothing but memory to depend upon, they retain with more tenacity than even the educated among the whites.

We have, in this town, six different Churches belonging to as many different denominations of Christians. In all of these Churches we have Divine service from two to four times every week, and in all of them provision is made for the accommodation of the colored people: and what is more, they are not only permitted, but urged to attend, by their Masters; for all at the South are aware of the difference between religious and irreligious Negroes. The most devout of our Slaves are the most faithful and honest in the discharge of their duties to their Masters. The Negroes generally avail themselves of the opportunity of attending preaching, especially on Lords-day afternoon, when, in this and most other towns, special preaching is held for their benefit. In two of the largest denominations of this place, special preaching to the Negroes, on Sunday, is never neglected; and the result is, that the num-

ber of black communicants is very numerous : in one Church they number several hundred, and in another nearly an equal number. From this statement of facts, the conclusion follows that our Slave population possess very high religious advantages, and that their actual religious condition is equal to that of the great body of the laboring population of most European countries, and not much inferior to the laboring population of the Northern States of this Union.

One fact on this subject I wish to impress : it is this—that all the missionary operations since 1534, when Loyola, in the subterranean chapel of the monastery of Montmartre, bound several disciples by vows of poverty and chastity, to devote their lives to the conversion of the Heathen, cannot produce three millions of human beings reclaimed from Heathenism. They cannot, in fact, produce one-half, nor even one-third of that number, embracing the original converts and their descendants.

There never has occurred any considerable number of conversions from Heathenism to Christianity, since the few first ages after its establishment. The larger number of Christians in the world, are the offspring of the regular and natural increase of population. The same is true of the

great religious reformation in the sixteenth century, under the auspices of Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon. The same, in fact, is true of all great reformations: they are at first embraced by a few, afterwards by a larger number, who are ripe for reformation; but in the course of one or two ages, no further inroads are made into the ranks of its enemies. This is owing to several causes which I have not time at present to mention. One of these causes may be the deep-rooted prejudices engendered between the parties, as the result of the heated contests between them. The *most* important results are, therefore, to be expected from a natural increase of population.

In the present state of the world, no accessions of any value are to be expected to the ranks of Christianity, from the worn out dynasties of the eastern world. The population of all Heathen countries is too deeply sunk in ignorance and superstition to be solidly converted to Christianity. Is there no chance, then, to convert the Heathen world to Christianity? I answer, None, that I can imagine. Nevertheless, the time is rapidly approaching when protestant Christianity will spread over the whole earth. This conclusion is based upon the condition of the Heathen and Catholic world: all Heathen, as well as most

Catholic countries, are in a worn out, sinking state. They will continue to decline, until, by an inevitable law of destiny, they will disappear from the face of the earth, and their places will be occupied by the protestant Christian, who, at this time, constitutes the only portion of the human family in a progressive state.

The change of the three millions of Africans in this country from the darkness of African idolatry to the light of Christianity, is the most wonderful achievement of modern times—far transcending, in my humble conception, the great reformation in the sixteenth century.

In order that we may see this subject in its full force, I will direct attention for a few moments to the religion of the African in his native country. This subject has already been alluded to, but with a different view: I therefore hope to be pardoned for again calling attention to it. I have already mentioned that the religious ideas of the African are lower than those of any other people: his reasoning faculties have never yet been sufficiently developed to form a single rational spiritual conception. He sees nothing in the universe but material forms, and to these he pays the homage due only to the Creator. Animals, plants, and even inanimate objects, are selected, as the ob-

jects of his adoration. I have already alluded to one of the results of African superstition—I allude to the great destruction of life that follows the death of their distinguished men. I quote the following passage on this subject from No. 16 of Harper's Family Library—p. 235:

“There is only one point on which his faith assumes a savage character, and displays darker than inquisitorial horrors. The hope of an immortal destiny, dimly working in the blinded human heart, leads to the wildest errors. The despot—the object of boundless homage on earth—seeks to transport all his pomp, and the crowds of his attendants, to his place in the future world. His death must be celebrated by the corresponding sacrifice of a numerous band of Slaves—of wives, and of courtiers: their blood must water his grave—and the sword of the rude warrior once drawn, does not readily stop. A general massacre often takes place, and the capitols of these rude Barbarian chiefs are seen to stream with blood.”

We are informed by Mungo Park, that on one occasion, three thousand victims were sacrificed at the tomb of the mother of an Ashantee king; and afterwards, two hundred Slaves weekly, for the space of two months. Similar instances of wholesale slaughter are mentioned by others. What a difference between the religious condition

of the African in his native country, and the African in a state of bondage in the United States! In his native country, the Negro is the victim of a degrading and horrid superstition: in the United States, he enjoys all the privileges of the Gospel of Peace, the whole tendency of which is to promote "peace on earth and good will among men." But the comparison need not be confined to the native African—it may be extended to the free Negro in the Northern States, to a portion of the whites, and to the laboring population of England and other countries.

According to the census of 1840, the number of colored persons in the non-slaveholding States amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand, seven hundred and twenty. Among this number we ought to find, if we were to judge from the zeal manifested by our opponents, some considerable degree of devotion to the cause of Christianity. We might reasonably expect to find in the Methodist connexion—the largest of all our religious denominations, North as well as South—a very full proportion of black members. But what are the facts of the case? Let us hear what Dr. BASCOM says, one of the most enlightened, candid, and distinguished of the Methodist clergy:

"Notwithstanding," says he "the thousands of

free Negroes within their limits, all the abolitionism, love of the Negro, hatred of Slavery—all the perverted facts, distorted statements, declamatory defamation, and, in some instances, honest and able appeals, connected with an interminable array of newspaper and pamphlet warfare, conventions, meetings, lectures, agents, and importation of foreign aid—all these, within the widespread territory of New-England, Providence, Maine, Vermont, and New-Hampshire Conferences, have not brought a solitary Negro into the Methodist Episcopal Church; at least, to remain there long enough to be reported. So say the ministers of the current year. How—why is this? Here is the Negro—the free Negro, in the free and happy North. Here, too, are his own dear friends—his patrons, benefactors—laboring as above for his good, day and night, and even the Sabbath not intermitting the struggle—and yet, Heaven-favored as he is, in the very Goshen of the moral world, with a superfluity of blessings for himself, and the popular curse piled mountain high upon his oppressor—the incorrigible Negro is not converted! none of them can be got into the Church—no not one. Turn now to the Troy, Black River, Erie, Oneida, Michigan, Rock River, Genesee, North Ohio, Illinois—nine Conferences: in all these, we have less than a thousand Negroes in the Church.”*

Did I not fear to tire the reader, I could prove

* Bascom's Review of the Methodist Controversy, p. 58.

* from the census of 1840, that the free Negroes at the North are guilty of more crimes in proportion to numbers, than any similar number of individuals in the United States. Our Slaves, in fact, are not guilty of one-tenth of the crimes which are committed by the free Negroes at the North. I think it probable that it could be made appear, that the few free Negroes in the free States, are guilty of more crimes than our whole black population. An able writer, in an article on the census of 1840, published in the Southern Literary Messenger, (June, 1843) has made some very judicious remarks on the condition of the colored population, North and South. I do not deem it necessary to go with him through his very able analysis, as this would be tedious and unnecessary: I will content myself with giving some of his conclusions:

“4th. That the free blacks of the non-slaveholding States, are *vicious* to an *enormous* extent, and, in many of those States, dwindling, whilst the Slaves in the other States are increasing in a rapid ratio.

“5th. That the vices of the free blacks have increased in proportion to the time which has elapsed since their emancipation.”—p. 351.

All reliable authorities agree that the condition of most of the free blacks at the North, is **any**

thing but enviable : they are vicious, degraded, and consequently pay but little attention to Christianity, or even to the rules of ordinary morals. No candid mind, with a full view of all the facts in the case, can come to any other conclusion upon this subject, than the one to which I have arrived, viz : that the religious state of our Slaves is infinitely better than that of the free Negroes in the non-slaveholding States.

The religious condition of a large number of whites at the North, is by no means enviable. Infidelity has taken deep root among them ; Infidel papers are published in Boston, New-York, and other places, and large numbers not only profess the soul-destroying principles of Infidelity, but run into the horrors of Atheism. Everything in the shape of religious error, finds ready advocates in the Northern States. Neology, Mormonism, German Transcendentalism, and a host of other religious errors, take root and flourish luxuriantly in almost every city at the North.

Besides this, there are immense numbers of degraded wretches of both sexes, about the large cities there, that never hear preaching from one end of the year to the other. There are two grades of society that seem equally unfriendly to moral and religious improvement—the highest

and the lowest: the two extremes. The highest class are too intently engaged in the pursuit of fortune, fame, pleasure, or some other object of worldly note, to pay much attention to Christianity. Too many objects, having no reference to religion, engage their attention, to allow much time for religious reflection.

The lowest class, on the contrary, are frequently too deeply sunk in vice, or too much engaged in these avocations which are necessary to supply their daily wants, to give much attention to the subject of religion. This class of persons are generally discontented and unhappy: they contract deep and inveterate hatred against society; ~~at least~~ against the prosperous portion of it: they imagine that they are badly treated; hence they are apt to become misanthropic—and finally fall into a state of recklessness, which generally leads to intoxication, and other kindred vices. The Northern cities are filled with persons of this description: hence the great numbers who disregard Christianity in that portion of our Union.

Our Slaves never fall into this unfortunate condition: being provided for by their Masters, and being contented with their situation, they have nothing on their minds which would prevent a proper attention to religious subjects. The inter-

est of the Master, too, protects the morals, as well as the health of the Slave : hence our Slaves never indulge to any extent in those vices which ruin so many of the white race.

In England, the great mass of the population are poor, degraded, vicious, ignorant, and unhappy, beyond measure. They are too poor and degraded, and consequently too unhappy, to pay much attention to Christianity. In the city of London, alone, there are not less than two hundred thousand persons, who do not know in the morning where they are to procure the first morsel of bread for the day. Nearly the whole of this large number are sunk into the lowest vice and misery. They are thieves, pick-pockets, cast-off prostitutes, drunkards, and the vicious of every grade and character. Nor does this complete the sum of vice and misery in the city of London : a large majority of the population are vicious and unhappy to an alarming extent. Christianity is neglected by the great body of the population, and Infidelity is extensively prevalent among all ranks.

The religious condition of the great mass of society throughout the British Empire, is but little better than what is stated above of the society of London. *Hundreds* and thousands, engaged in

the coal-pits, and other similar occupations, have never even heard of the being of a God, of Jesus Christ, or of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION! Documents could be furnished in proof of this, were it necessary; but I regard it as ridiculous in the extreme, to attempt any comparison between such a population in a religious point of view, and the Slaves of the Southern States.

Similar remarks are applicable to the peasantry of France, and, indeed of every other European country. In Russia, there are forty millions of Slaves. In Spain and Italy, poverty and distress, vice and crime, prevail to a great extent. In Austria and Prussia, the governments are pure despotisms: hence a high standard of religious and moral worth is not to be expected in those countries.

X 3d. The institution of Slavery is *morally* beneficial to our Negroes. Some may object to any distinction between morality and religion; but the distinction is real, and not arbitrary—for a person may be religious and not moral, or the reverse. What I have said, however, in reference to the religious condition of our Southern Negroes, will supercede the necessity of saying much respecting their morals; for though the subjects *are in many respects* different, they are neverthe-

less so intimately connected, that they cannot be well repeated in our descriptions. There are some points which have not been yet touched, to which I would most respectfully invite the attention of the reader in this connexion.

There is one vice that the whites indulge to a great extent, that our Negroes are, in a measure, free from: I allude to the vice of drunkenness. This is, probably, not owing to any thing peculiar in the constitution of the Negro—for this probably would incline him to drink—but to several different causes, some of which grow out of his position as a Slave. The state of restraint under which he is kept by his Master—moral and religious motives with some—the want of means necessary to purchase ardent spirits—and the absence of those strong temptations which are so influential in leading the lower class of white persons to drink, may be set down as the efficient causes in promoting temperance among the blacks. Whatever may be the cause, a habit of sobriety is formed that continues through life. It is true, I know Negroes that drink too much; some of them habitually, others only at times: but this is to be expected, in a black population of two or three millions. But in this respect, there is no comparison between our blacks and any white

population that I have ever seen, or heard of. Nearly all Indians are drunkards, and the larger number of the lower class of whites about the cities. In England, Ireland, and Scotland, this vice prevails to a very great extent among the common people.

X Poor, ignorant, and degraded persons, of all colors, when pressed by want and misery, will resort to the bottle, when they have it in their power to do so. They do this in order to procure a temporary oblivion of their misery. When the animal powers of man are unchecked by moral sentiment or intellect, or external control, they will run riot with the individual, and necessarily lead to vicious indulgences: hence the amount of crime among the low and the ignorant—and hence, again, the beneficial effects of Slavery in keeping in check, and within the bounds of morality, a population so little advanced as our Negroes.

X Sexual crimes are thought to be very common among our blacks. Every English tourist—especially the female portion of them, have dwelt upon this feature of Southern Slavery, with peculiar gusto: and it must be acknowledged, that our Negroes—like others in their rank of life—are guilty of this crime to a very considerable extent.

In all societies, where the loss of character is not the result of such practices, we may expect their prevalence. The error consists in making it the peculiar incident of Slavery ; whereas, it is equally, if not more common, in all societies, whether free or otherwise, not more elevated than our blacks.

Nevertheless, I feel satisfied that the extent of the vice among our Slaves, has been greatly over-rated. Most of our Slaves live in the country on the plantations of their Masters, where they early marry, and live as happily together as any people in the world. Having no apprehensions about supporting themselves and families, they marry much earlier than the great mass of poor whites, and are, in consequence, much less exposed to sexual vices than this class.

I have already mentioned that the number of communicants among our blacks, cannot be less than six hundred thousand souls. Among this number, you will find as many chaste men and women, as you will find among any similar number of people in the world. A colored female who belongs to a Church, will resist any attempt to destroy her virtue as strenuously as the most virtuous white woman in the world.

About the towns and villages, this vice does

prevail to some extent, among the blacks; but not even there, half to the extent that the opponents of Slavery would have us believe. Every town and city at the South, of any size, is amply supplied with "*ladies of easy virtue*," from the "*land of steady habits*," with whom the sexual appetite finds ample gratification. Unlike any other part of the world, the white ladies of the South are almost universally virtuous. Such a thing as a sexual crime is almost entirely unknown among them. This is, in part, owing to the existence of Slavery among us—in part to the high sense of character resulting from this cause—and, lastly, to the easy circumstances of the large body of our population.

In the Northern States of this Union, in England, in France, and in many other countries, there is little or no virtue among the lowest class of women. Their position is such, that no loss of character results from prostitution: hence they all, more or less, indulge in this vice. Their position, in fact, for the time being, is bettered, by this indulgence; for they are thus enabled to supply themselves with such necessities as their situation requires—whereas, if they had continued in a course of well-doing, their situation would have been one of hopeless poverty. Go, for in-

stance, to one of our large Northern cities — New York, Philadelphia, or Boston — take a poor girl that lives by her needle : constant labor during the day, and part of the night, will barely suffice to buy the merest necessities. If she has a helpless father, mother, brother, or sister, to share her earnings, distress is inevitable. In this situation, a tempting offer is made : if she will agree to *sell* herself, she can get money and supply all her wants — if she resolves to live virtuously, hopeless toil and poverty is her lot through life. How many poor girls do you suppose would continue virtuous, under such circumstances ? Some may resist for a time, and resolve to continue virtuous — but in almost every instance they will yield, at length.

We have here the reason why prostitution is more common at the North, in England, and in other countries, than it is at the South. Our females are placed in circumstances more favorable to virtue than those at the North, &c. The temptation of poverty which exists there does not exist here — at least, to any considerable extent — for no female at the South need sell her virtue to procure the means of living.

There is one fact in connexion with this subject, that ought to be mentioned. It is this : all illicit

connexions between the whites and blacks which result in offspring, are infallibly detected on account of the color. If we had in other places, a sign by which we could as infallibly detect the vice when indulged in between whites, it would be an easy matter to exhibit a much larger list of such vices among them, than we can at present.

In Africa, there is scarcely such a thing known as virtue among the females. Major LAING informs us, that —

“Infidelity of the Soolima women is a never failing source of litigation here, as well as other countries where, for want of being treated with due respect, they have no character to uphold. Like *all* other African females, they are loose in morals, as I could perceive from their numerous palavers which were brought before the king. This is precisely the case in every part of Kafferland: quarrels and prosecutions are continually springing from the very same source.”

Were it necessary, I could quote any number of facts on this subject from authentic British sources, showing the state of morals in this particular among the females in the British isles. I could easily show that prostitution prevails to a very great extent in every city throughout the British Empire. I must, however, pass on to other considerations.

4th. The institution of Slavery has been beneficial to the Negro in an *intellectual* point of view. The world may be ransacked in vain for a similar instance of intellectual improvement, in the same length of time, among a *savage* people. In a little more than two centuries, our Negroes have advanced from the lowest state of *savagism*, to a state of comparative civilization. No similar instance can be found in history—nor, had the Slaves been free, would they have made even a start towards their present condition. The transition from the *savage* to the civilized state is always slow in the extreme. Nations have their minority as well as individuals: the difference is, that the minority of an individual is twenty or twenty-one years, whilst that of a nation may be centuries. The change from the *savage* to the civilized state requires a great change in organization—which, of course, can be effected only after the lapse of centuries.

We have a very striking example of this in the Indians of this country. No tribe living remote from the white settlements have made the slightest advance in civilization; and the improvements made by those living in contact with the whites, have been neutralized by the vices which they have contracted.

Schools have been established among the Indians—missionaries have been stationed among them—and, to some extent, they enjoyed association with the whites; yet they have not improved at all in comparison with our Slaves. Some few Indians have acquired a good education—some few have embraced Christianity; but the great body of them are as ignorant as they ever were, and far more vicious—for they have contracted our vices, without imitating our virtues. A savage, left to himself, is a pitiable being—is a poor wanderer, without chart or helm, upon a boisterous and stormy sea.

To show the intellectual benefits which the Negroes have derived from Slavery in this country, I will quote the following passage from a highly interesting work:

“The intellectual character of the people of this continent, presents a peculiar and remarkable deficiency. If we except the Ethiopic language, which is seemingly of Arabic origin, and the unknown characters probably Phœnician, inscribed by the Tuonics on their dark rocks, there is not a tincture of letters or of writing among all the aboriginal tribes of Africa. There is not a hieroglyphic or symbol—nothing corresponding to the painted stories of Mexico, or the knotted *quipos* of Peru. Oral communications form the only channels by which thought can be transmitted

from one country and one age to another. The lessons of time—the experience of ages, do not exist for the natives of this vast continent.”*

Slavery is a necessary precursor of civilization. It gives habits of industry—improves the physical man, and tames those wild propensities and passions which always control the actions of savage man. The feudal Slavery of the middle ages prepared man for the splendid superstructure of modern civilization: the Slavery of Prussia prepared the mass of that people for the present high civilization which they enjoy. But little more than forty years have elapsed since the Prussian serfs were liberated: nevertheless, within that short period, they have become the most refined and best educated people in Europe. But for the habits of industry, economy, virtue, and the thorough mental discipline acquired by them during their state of serfdom, they never could, in so short a time, have made such rapid advances in civilization.

The forty millions of Russian serfs are in a course of preparation which will prepare them, not only for freedom, but for the highest and most

* Harper's Family Library, No. 16--p. 233. This work was written by Prof. Jameson, James Wilson Esq., and Hugh Murray.

refined civilization: When the Anglo-American shall have peopled the continent of North-America, and shall, from the density of the population, find it difficult to procure the means of subsistence—and when the various tribes of Asia shall have sunk into the condition of wandering savages—there will he meet the Russian, who will have advanced from the north, and people together these vast regions. But to return to the subject:

I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that our Negroes would ever reach any very high degree of civilization, for I have already proven their inferiority; but I do reasonably expect of them the attainment of a point of civilization far beyond any thing yet reached by them; and this result will be ascribable to the schooling which they have received whilst in a state of Slavery.

Some few of our Slaves can read and write; but for good and substantial reasons, this extent of education is not in general allowed. Nearly the whole of our black population, as before remarked, have the benefit of regular moral and religious instruction: some of them are put to trades, and make good mechanics; and nearly all the field hands become good farmers. These are all important branches of Education—by far the *most important* for such a people: they quicken

and develope the mental powers, and give aptness in the use of mechanical tools and in the various implements of husbandry.

Many persons place an undue estimate upon reading, as though nothing could be learned in any other way. This is a great error, which has greatly tended to impair the utility of our systems of education. Too much attention is given to mere book-learning, and too little to reflection and observation. The result of this is, that the mind never attains the growth of full manhood, but ever remains sickly and cramped in its powers. It must not, therefore, be inferred that our Negroes know nothing, because they cannot read, nor must it be supposed that every white man that can read, is therefore educated. The great mass of white laborers in the Union are such poor readers, that they really derive but little benefit from it; and such must necessarily be the case with persons whose whole time is given to hard manual drudgery. A man who is compelled by his necessities to work from twelve to sixteen hours a day, has but little time, and less disposition to read. Such persons, therefore, never profit much by reading.

5th. Slavery has politically benefited the Negro. I take for granted, what I presume no one

will pretend to deny, that no part of the African population of the world, is prepared to live under a free government like this. They must, therefore, live under an absolute government of some sort, either in Africa, America, or some where else.

The population of the globe has been estimated at from eight to nine hundred millions. Of this number a small proportion only are prepared for free government; probably, not one-tenth. No part of the African population of the world is capable of sustaining free institutions. From the remotest antiquity, the Negroes have occupied a servile position, as they do in this country. Dr. S. G. MORTON, of Philadelphia, probably the ablest writer on the new science of Ethnography living, says that—

“Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same as it now is—that of servants and Slaves.”

I start from the position then, that the Negroes would not be benefited by a free government, as they are not in possession of the intellectual and moral power necessary to sustain such a government. In speaking, then, of the political advantages of the Slaves here, we must contrast their position with that of the Negroes in Africa, and *with the government which they would necessa-*

rily form, if liberated. Our Slaves are subject to a despotic government, but it is not an absolute despotism; for the Negro has his rights which are as firmly protected by law, as those of his Master. But the law is not his only protection: he has other very efficient guarantees of good treatment—the interest of his Master, his humanity, his friendship—and last, though not least, public sentiment. Public sentiment bears strongly at this time in favor of good treatment to Slaves, and any man who has the inhumanity to treat his Slaves with unnecessary harshness, may expect the disapprobation of the public.

Killing a Slave is punishable with death in all the Slave States. Formerly this was not the case in some of the States; but in all such cases, I believe, new enactments have been passed imposing the same penalty for killing a Slave, as for killing a white man. And public sentiment is strongly in favor of executing the law in all cases where Negroes are murdered by white men. I have in my mind at this time a wealthy man of this county, who forfeited his bond of twenty thousand dollars and fled the country, rather than stand his trial for murdering one of his Slaves, though the proof was not conclusive that the murder was wantonly committed. Our laws in this particular

are more humane than were the laws of ancient Rome—than even the laws of the Old Testament—for those allowed the Master in some cases to take the life of his Slave without any particular penalty. Greatly maltreating a slave is punishable with fine and imprisonment.

But the Slave has a sure protection in the *interest* of the Master; no sovereign ever had the same interest to extend kind treatment to his subjects. The Master knows from experience that the efficiency and usefulness of his Slaves will depend in a great measure upon the treatment which they receive from him.

I have already mentioned a peculiar trait of the Negro character which causes him to resist any attempt to force him to perform more than a reasonable amount of service. A harsh, cruel, and unreasonable Master, will soon find to his cost, that the wisest, and most economical plan, is to require of his Slaves only a reasonable amount of service. All Masters, after a while, learn this lesson; consequently, all become more reasonable in their demands upon the service of their Slaves.

As all Masters have a special regard to their interest, they will, of course, do whatever is necessary to promote the physical well-being of

their Slaves. They will supply them with proper food, clothing, with suitable lodging, and will particularly guard against any wide departure from strict morality, such as drinking too much, and other similar vices. All this the Master will do, and much more, from motives of self-interest, without the slightest reference to the principles of humanity or friendship.

But will not these latter motives likewise influence his conduct towards his Slaves? Most assuredly: the Master and the Slave form one family—they are frequently reared together—and of course must feel towards each other the kindly sympathies of our nature. This is natural: we are apt to contract a degree of friendship for all with whom it is our destiny to pass the journey of life, whether black or white. Even prior to experience, simply from a knowledge of humanity alone, we would be justified in the conclusion that the government of the Southern Master over his Slave, would resemble more a patriarchal government, than that of a harsh and cruel despotism: and such is the actual fact. Our Slaves throughout the South, with but slight exceptions, are abundantly supplied with every thing necessary to their welfare and comfort, in the shape of food, clothing, lodging, &c. When sick, they have

every necessary attention from the whites of the family, and suitable medical attendance.

One result of Southern Slavery should be mentioned in this place. I allude to that nearness and kindly sympathy which the relation engenders. This, on the part of the Master, is heightened from a knowledge of the fact that the Slave can never be his rival in any of the pursuits of life; consequently, there cannot exist that feeling of hostility and jealousy which rivalry often creates. I quote on this subject the following very interesting extract from DE TOCQUEVILLE :*

“It is true, that in the North of the Union, marriages may be legally contracted between Negroes and whites; but public opinion would stigmatize a man who should connect himself with a Negress, as infamous, and it would be difficult to meet with a single instance of such a union. The electoral franchise has been conferred upon the Negroes in almost all of the States in which Slavery has been abolished; but if they come forward to vote, their lives are in danger. If oppressed, they may bring an action at law; but they will find none but whites among their judges: and although they may by law serve as jurors, prejudice repulses them from that office. The same schools do not receive the child of the black and of the European. In the theatres, gold can-

* Democracy in America—Part I. pp. 389, 390.

not procure a seat for the servile race beside their former Masters : in the hospitals they lie apart ; and although they are allowed to invoke the same Divinity as the whites, it must be at a different altar, and in their own Churches, with their own clergy. The gates of Heaven are not closed against these unhappy beings ; but their inferiority is continued to the very confines of the other world. When the Negro is defunct, his bones are cast aside, and the distinction of condition prevails even in the equality of death. The Negro is free ; but he can share neither the rights, nor the pleasures, nor the labors, nor the afflictions, nor the tomb of him whose equal he has been declared to be ; and he cannot meet him upon fair terms in life, or in death.

“In the South, where Slavery still exists, the Negroes are less carefully kept apart : they sometimes share the labour and the recreations of the whites ; the whites consent to intermix with them to a certain extent, and although the legislation treats them more harshly, the habits of the people are more tolerant and compassionate. In the South, the Master is not afraid to raise his Slave to his own standing, because he knows that he can in a moment reduce him to the dust at pleasure. In the North, the white no longer distinctly perceives the barrier which separates him from the degraded race, and he shuns the Negro with more pertinacity, because he fears lest they should some day be confounded together.

“Among the Americans of the South, nature sometimes reasserts her rights, and restores

transient equality between the blacks and the whites ; but in the North, pride restrains the most imperious of human passions. The American of the Northern States would, perhaps, allow the Negress to share his licentious pleasures, if the laws of his country did not declare that she may aspire to be the legitimate partner of his bed ; but he recoils with horror from her who might become his wife."

Theoretically, Slavery has been abolished in most countries ; but practically, it exists almost every where—but without the responsibilities, interests, humanities, and sympathies of Slavery. A hired servant in England, for instance, has none of the kindly sympathies of his employer ; he is expected to perform a certain amount of labor, but the employer does not approach him—feels no interest in him—bestows upon him none of his sympathies and regards—and, in most cases, the relation between them is too transient to admit of the existence of such feelings, even if circumstances were favorable to their development. A laboring man in England has, theoretically, the right to change his employer when displeased ; but practically he is bound in iron chains to his destiny : soul and body must be kept together, which can be done only by incessant toil at low wages. The necessities of his being—the su-

perabundance of laborers—and the consequent great competition among them, binds him to a state of Slavery as adamantine as that which binds the Southern Slave to his destiny.

I maintain, then, that practically, the government to which our Southern Negroes are subject, is milder than that to which the hired servant in England, and elsewhere, is subject. Supposing an equal share of physical comforts—which is not the fact, as our Negroes have much the advantage—our Southern Slavery has its interests, its humanities, its sympathies, which are necessarily peculiar to it, and which gives it an advantage over English and all other kinds of Slavery.

I have already alluded to the influence of public sentiment, in preventing unnecessary harshness in the treatment of Negroes. This public sentiment is growing stronger and stronger every year: a man now who treats his Slaves with any considerable degree of cruelty, is shunned by the community as though he were the veriest monster in existence. This has a powerful and most salutary influence in the treatment of Slaves; for but few now have the hardihood to stand up and brave public sentiment, especially in a wrong cause.

Thousands have in all ages, in defence of what

they conceived to be truth, defied the strongest expression of public sentiment, and even suffered martyrdom ; but in defence of acknowledged wrong, but few men have the hardihood to persevere. This disapprobation, then, on the part of the public, of all unnecessary cruelty in the treatment of Slaves, has greatly tended to ameliorate their condition ; and no doubt as public sentiment becomes more enlightened on the subject, it will still be more strongly expressed, and that in consequence, the condition of the Slave will be still further improved.

The thorough discussion which the subject has of late years undergone, has greatly tended to enlighten the public mind upon it ; and whilst the institution of Slavery has been more firmly established, the actual condition of the Slave has been greatly bettered. I do not agree with some, that this subject should not be discussed : I think, on the contrary, that it should be thoroughly examined, and all abuses which may belong to it at present, corrected. Truth need fear no examination : it is error only that shrinks from the light. If Slavery cannot be sustained by fair argument, it should be abandoned as soon as possible, for no one can have any interest in sustaining error.

Discussion has certainly been of service to us :

it has opened our eyes to the true subject, and exposed many abuses which existed among us. In some cases, probably, near the line of the non-slaveholding States, the immediate effect was to tighten the chains of Slavery; but the ultimate effect in all cases has been to correct errors, remove abuses, and thus soften the condition of the Slave.

It is almost needless to attempt a comparison between the government of the Negro here, and in Africa. The whole continent of Africa cannot furnish a government that permits so wide a range of human liberty, and that so thoroughly secures human rights, as the governments under which the Slaves live in this country. Political and domestic Slavery are almost universal in Africa. Three-fourths—some say, nine-tenths—of the whole population, are in a state of the most abject domestic Slavery: a Slavery, the grinding oppression of which is unknown in this country. With a few inconsiderable exceptions, all the African tribes are subject to the most absolute forms of government. The sovereign has a power over the lives and fortunes of his subjects, greater than any European monarch. A few of the smaller tribes, have what are called free governments, but in all such cases, the population is

licentious, turbulent, and unhappy. They are the most illy regulated of all the governments in Africa. All the larger and more important kingdoms, are absolute despotisms.

“Thousands of brave warriors bend down to one of their fellow mortals with a profound and servile abasement, never witnessed in polished, or, as we call them, corrupt societies.”*

Who can doubt the fact that the African has been an immense gainer in a governmental point of view, by being sold into Slavery in this country? He here has an intelligent Master, whose humanity, interest, duty, and friendship, all lead him to treat him well—to supply all his reasonable wants: in a word, to do all for him that he may deem necessary to promote his physical, moral, and religious well-being. A Master, too, who lives under the best form of civil government that now exists, or that ever did exist—who is bound by the laws of his country to treat his Slaves with humanity. In Africa, the Negro is the Slave of a brutal, ignorant, degraded, and superstitious Master: a Master who is equally ignorant of true religion and true morality, and who is himself the subject of a harsh and grinding despotism. What chance for happiness in such

* *Harpers' Family Library*, No. 16—p. 337.

a society? The truth is, our Negroes are better off than the best portion of African society: they have more freedom—enjoy more comforts and luxuries—and their rights are better protected, than the best portion of African society.

The opponents of Slavery have said much about the power that the Southern Master has of flogging his Slaves. They regard it as a most horrid act of despotism to give one man the power to inflict corporal punishment upon another, and they would have the world believe that the Southern Master greatly delighted in flogging his Negroes. I shall not pretend to deny the fact that some Masters may abuse their power in this particular; for as in all other cases of power, this is liable to abuse, and I pretend not to say that it has not been frequently abused.

But I think that too much stress has been laid on the abuse of this power by the opponents of Southern Slavery. In the first place it may be remarked, that the Negro feels no sense of shame or disgrace, on account of corporal punishment; the sense of it does not linger with him, embitter his existence, and fill him with a spirit of revenge. When the smarting has ceased—that is, if the flogging has been merited—his feelings resume their former life and buoyancy. This is a very

important matter, as it takes away half of the ills connected with corporal punishment.

But the Negro is not the only being in the world, who from his situation is bound to submit to corporal punishment. Fathers, mothers and teachers, are bound to use the rod occasionally in order that due subordination may be kept up among the children. But this is not all: flogging is practised in the armies and navies of all countries. In Great Britain, flogging is carried to great extremes in her armies and navies. The soldiers, and sailors are taken up and flogged in a manner unknown among Southern Masters. They make use of instruments of torture that are never used by the Southern Slave-holder. Flogging, then, is not confined to Southern Slaveholders, but is occasionally practised by others.

But after all, I am satisfied from much observation; experience and inquiry, that much exaggeration has prevailed on this subject. All well-managed plantations dispense with flogging almost entirely. I am well acquainted with large plantations, where the whip is never used from one end of the year to the other; and this I learn, from inquiry, is generally the case. Most planters learn after a while that whipping tends to *degrade and ruin* the Negro: hence they use it as

little as possible. Overseers are frequently dismissed on account of too much severity. All parties, after a while, learn that Negroes will do more work, and do it more cheerfully—will altogether make better servants, when the rod is used only in cases of indispensable necessity. But it is altogether proper that the rod should be occasionally used; and when it is used properly and reasonably, the Negroes themselves will acknowledge its justice, and like their Masters all the better for it.

But I have another remark to make in connexion with this subject. The Negro is often whipped and turned loose, for crimes that would send a white man to jail or the penitentiary. In some of the States, he would be whipped, or made to stand in the pillory. In England, he would be pilloried, and probably transported for life. A Negro steals some article of trifling value, for which he is flogged and turned loose—a white man commits a similar theft, and is sent to jail, or the penitentiary. There was a man not long since sent to the Mississippi penitentiary for stealing three dollars. He lay in jail several months before his trial came on, and was then found guilty and sentenced to the penitentiary for several years. I knew a Slave in this very town, taken

up and whipped, then turned loose, for stealing a considerable amount of money. I could, were it necessary, give any number of such cases.

The young man above alluded to, who was sent to the penitentiary for stealing three dollars, will never recover his lost character, but will ever feel the scorn, contempt, and neglect of society. The Negro alluded to, is still in our community, and has not sustained the slightest loss of character that I am aware of. He looks as cheerful, sleek, and lively as ever: no sense of self-degradation haunts him as in the other case. Slavery, then, has its advantages, as well as every other condition of society, and these advantages are of great importance to the Slave.

6th. *Physical benefits of Slavery.*—The world cannot produce a more vigorous, healthy race of men than our Negroes—a race freer from all constitutional or hereditary taints of every kind. The continued health and vigor of the Negro in Slavery in the West Indies, led Las Casas, the devoted Spanish missionary, to recommend a continuance of the institution, though opposed to it in the abstract.

Though aware of the benefits of Slavery physically to the Negro, we were not aware of the extent of these benefits, until our census was ta-

ken in 1840. The results astonished every body: no one before was aware of the vast advantage that the Negro enjoyed in a state of Slavery. The free Negro, North and South, exists almost universally in a state of hopeless poverty; and he is liable to all the diseases that flow from abject poverty. I take the following extract from the letter of the Hon. J. C. CALHOUN to the Right Hon. RICHARD PAKENHAM dated, Washington, April 18th, 1844:

“The number of deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, of the Negroes in the States that have changed the ancient relations between the races, is one out of every ninety-six; while in the States adhering to it is one out of every six hundred and seventy-two: that is, seven to one in favor of the latter, as compared with the former.

“The number of whites deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, in the States that have changed the relation, is one in every five hundred and sixty-one; being nearly six to one against the free blacks in the same States.

“The number of Negroes deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and insane, paupers, and in prison, in the States that have changed, is one out of every six; and in the States that have not, one out of every one hundred and fifty-four—or twenty-two to one against the former, as compared with the latter.

“Taking the two extremes of North and South—in the State of Maine the number of Negroes

returned as deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiots, by the census of 1840, is one out of every twelve; and in Florida, by the same returns, is one out of every eleven hundred and five; or seventy-two to one in favor of the Slaves of Florida, as compared with the free blacks of Maine.

“In addition, it deserves to be remarked, that in Massachusetts, where the change in the ancient relation of the two races was first made, (now more than sixty years ago) where the greatest zeal has been exhibited in their behalf, and where their number is comparatively few, (but little more than eight thousand, in a population of seven hundred and thirty thousand) the condition of the African is among the most wretched. By the latest authentic accounts, there was one out of every twenty-one of the black population, in jails or houses of correction; and one out of every thirteen was either deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, insane, or in prison.

“On the other hand, the census, and other authentic sources of information, establish the fact, that the condition of the African race throughout all the States, where the ancient relation between the two races has been retained, enjoys a degree of health and comfort which may well compare with that of the laboring population of any country in Christendom; and it may be added, that in no other condition, or in any other age or country, has the Negro race ever attained so high an elevation in morals, intelligence, or civilization.”

Here are facts drawn from undoubted sources

of information, which very clearly prove that the Negro at the South has been an immense gainer by Slavery. It seems to be a fixed law of nature that two races of men widely differing from each other physically, morally, intellectually, and in the actual state of civilization, cannot flourish together on the same continent, or in immediate juxtaposition, unless the inferior is in a state of Slavery. The greater intelligence, energy, industry, and economy of the superior race will lead to a monopoly of all the wealth and influence of the country; and hence the inferior race will be reduced to a state of poverty and dependence which will lead to all the crimes, pauperism, and physical ills above enumerated, and consequently to a decline, and an ultimate extinction of the race. The rapid decline of the Indians in this country shows the power of this law—and the wretched and starving condition of the Hindoo, when in contact with the English, is proof of the same truth.

Another remark in this connexion, before closing this chapter: A strong, healthy, physical condition, is essential to civilization; and to enjoy this, physical industry and execution is indispensable. The savage man is necessarily inclined to indolence and inaction, except when enga-

ged in the chase or in war: hence he never acquires that degree of physical vigor which is possessed by those engaged in regular industry.

To give to the savage, then, that degree of physical vigor, which is essential to civilization, you must make him a Slave, and continue him in this state, through a succession of ages. No savage tribe has ever yet voluntarily betaken itself to habits of industry, nor have we any reason to believe that they ever will; consequently, all that reach civilization, must pass through the ordeal of Slavery.

CHAPTER VI.

BENEFITS OF SLAVERY, CONTINUED: THE MASTER, ETC.

II. THE MASTER.—The Master derives important benefits from Slavery, as well as the Slave. This subject has been greatly misunderstood: it has been supposed by many, that Slavery was a source of numberless evils to the white race. The advantages of Slavery to the white race at the South, are—

1st. *Increase of Intelligence.* — It might be inferred *a priori* that a population having ample leisure, would devote at least a portion of that leisure, to mental culture : especially would this be the case if we, at the South, have the political ambition ascribed to us. We are not ignorant of the oft-repeated maxim, that “*Knowledge is Power* ; ” consequently, if we are desirous of possessing power, as our Northern brethren have stated, we certainly would not be likely to neglect the means necessary to attain it. But what are the facts in reference to the intelligence of the Southern people ? In a restricted sense, the North may be as well, if not better educated, than the South ; but in a more enlarged sense, I must be permitted to maintain that the South has greatly the advantage. In point of general intelligence, especially in every thing relating to politics, we must be permitted to maintain our decided superiority over our Northern brethren. Not only have the Southern people a superiority in point of political intelligence, but they have a very great superiority in the capacity of public speaking. I recollect a conversation that I held, some years ago, with a distinguished literary gentleman of the North : He was advanced in years, was born and educated at the North, and had never been South, until

the time when I saw and had the conversation with him.

He informed me that on remaining in the South a short time, under circumstances highly favorable to observation, he was astonished at the difference that he perceived between the intelligence of the people here, and at the North where he resided :

"Your people," said he "are all public speakers : at the North, none but lawyers, preachers, and politicians, can speak in public at all. Your people, too," he continued, "are far superior to the mass of the Northern people, in point of general intelligence."

This might have been inferred from the condition of the great body of the Northern people. They are bound by the necessities of their situation, to devote the larger portion of their time to hard labor : hence I maintain the utter impossibility of their having time to cultivate their minds to any thing like a liberal extent. The superior Common School System of the New-England States, enables the larger portion of the population to acquire the first rudiments of education ; but when they reach mature years, they are necessarily so much engaged in bodily toil that they have no leisure for mental culture.

One fact is universally known, viz. : that the

South has always had an undue proportion of talent and influence in the national councils. Out of eleven Presidents, seven have been Southern men and Slaveholders. When Mr. Polk's term shall have expired, our present constitution will have been in existence sixty years—and forty-eight years of the time, the Presidential chair will have been filled by Southern Slaveholders. It has been frequently charged upon our government, that it is in the hands of a Junto of Slaveholders, who wield it for their own particular benefit. It is admitted that Slaveholders are now, and have been in times past, the leading politicians of the Union; and I regard this fact as one among the many evidences in favor of Southern superiority, but I deny that the Southern men have ever used this power to the injury of any portion of the Union.

2d. *Slavery cultivates in the South a spirit of lofty and generous patriotism.*—The very existence among us of an inferior population, whose business it is to perform most of the hard drudgery which is essential to the well-being of man, creates a higher tone of character, and as a consequence, a much higher degree of principle and action. The South has ever taken the lead in all those great measures which have reflected most

honor upon the nation. And the fact is very singular, that the South has never taken a stand upon any great subject, that was not ultimately successful. Mr. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, on this subject, says :

“It is a fact which cannot be disputed, and need not be disguised, that on all the great questions that have necessarily agitated the country, the South has taken the side which has finally carried the people with it; and what is still more remarkable, account for it as we may, the side most favorable to liberty. I allude, of course, to dominant parties, and the general tendency of opinion. In the controversies which grew out of the foundation and construction of the Federal Constitution, and in those which succeeded, and had their origin in the revolutionary struggles of Europe—in the disputes with Great Britain respecting neutral rights—on the great financial questions of the Bank and Protection, we find the North, right or wrong, uniformly on the side of power—the South on that of liberty. Even on isolated questions, like that of the acquisition of Louisiana—which seem to have no connexion with general principles—the South has had the fortune to espouse the opinion that has finally been sanctioned by the people. At this moment, when a region not inferior, as I have said, in extent and richness, to the kingdom of France, is thrown, as it were, into our arms, the North—for reasons *which, as I think I have shown, will hardly bear*

examination—repels the magnificent God-send; the South is ready to receive it with eagerness and gratitude.”

Again:

“How it has happened that the Slaveholding South should have uniformly raised the standard of liberty—and the free North, that of power—is a curious question which has often been asked, but never satisfactorily answered.”*

I have already given the solution of this problem: it is to be found in the intelligence, and in the high-toned sentiments of patriotism, that spring out of the institution of Slavery, as it exists among us at the South. Mr. Everett seems unable to account for the difference between the North and the South in the particular alluded to, but the cause can be none other than that which I have mentioned.

3d. *Slavery is beneficial to the White Population at the South, in a Religious and Moral point of view.*—The opponents of Slavery, no doubt, will think this a strange position; for Slavery, directly or indirectly, has been considered the source of every crime which has been committed in our country, since the organization of the government. But let us have the facts in the case,

* *Democratic Review*, Sept. 1844—pp. 269, 270

for these are more potent in settling controversies than all the assertions and theories in the world. Where are the Infidel papers and parties at the South? They cannot be found. A solitary individual, most commonly from the non-slaveholding States, can occasionally be found among us, who professes Infidel sentiments; but the great mass of our people, utterly condemn all such sentiments. Why is this? The Southern people are neither deficient in intelligence, nor in personal independence: whatever they profess and believe, they declare openly. The South is the only intelligent portion of the Christian world without an Infidel party in religion. At the North, there is a regularly organized party of Infidels: they have several newspapers—they meet frequently in convention, and devise ways and means for the extension of their views throughout the Union. The same fact is true of England: Infidel lecturers travel from one end of the kingdom to the other, and spread the poison of their doctrines among the people. I some time since noticed sixty travelling Infidel lecturers in England: they have several able papers devoted wholly, or in part, to their views: they write learned books against Christianity, and use all other means in *their power to overturn the Christian religion.*

France, we all know, is a nation of Infidels. The Rev. Dr. Fisk estimated, when in Paris, that not more than one in sixty-six of the whole population, ever attended Divine service. A philosopher of France will take the ground of pure Atheism, in his writings, without the least hesitation; and without any expectation that he will suffer in the estimation of the public.

Infidel sentiments, likewise, are extensively prevalent in Germany. A species of semi-infidelity, in fact, pervades almost the entire learned population of Germany. Neology is but little better than pure Infidelity. Transcendentalism had its birth, and principle growth in Germany; and as might have been expected, the dreams of Emanuel Swedenborg find ready believers and advocates in that country.

But again: we have more religious union and harmony at the South, and fewer religious errors, than in any other portion of protestant Christendom. Our sects are few, and none of them depart very widely from what is considered the strict line of orthodoxy. At the North, they have almost every species of nonsense, in the form of religion. *Mormonism*, among them, flourishes extensively, even in the very heart of the Northern *Athens*. I well recollect that some years ago

Mormon preacher went to Boston, and created quite a sensation among them. Many of the good citizens of Boston, if I mistake not, believed and obeyed the Mormon faith. *Millerism*, commenced, grew, and died, at the North. Scarcely a believer in this doctrine could be found in the whole South: none from the commencement had the least confidence in Miller, or his calculations. The doctrine was charged upon a few individuals for political effect, but they invariably denied it, in the most positive manner.

But this is not all: we find among our Northern friends, Swedenborgians, Dunkers, Rappists, Sabbatarians, Universalists, and a host of other strange parties. None of these are scarcely ever heard of at the South.

Fourierism and Socialism, likewise find ready advocates among our Northern friends: and these give rise to political errors, as lately seen in the resistance to pay rent in the county of Delaware, New-York.

Now why this difference between the North and South in reference to religion? There is a cause, certainly; for in morals and religion, as well as in physics, no event takes place without an adequate cause. Why then is the South more *rational* on the subject of religion than the North?

The reason, I think, is not difficult to find : at the South, religious demagogues have no materials to act upon : they have no access to our Negroes, and the whites are too generally intelligent to be led astray by the deluded, or the designing. The intelligence and independence of thought that exist among us, render the Southern people less liable to be carried away by religious illusion, than any other people on the face of the globe. This intelligence and independence, create an *individuality* of character, which causes our people to feel humbled at the very thought of following every reckless leader that may choose to advance new religious and moral theories.

The ignorant and degraded population of England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, and in our large Northern cities, feel no sense of degradation in following any ambitious leader that may choose to form a new party in religion : a Southern man, on the contrary, would feel his cheeks burn at the very thought of being led by any religious or moral fanatic in the world.

Our opponents charge upon us almost every crime in the whole catalogue of crimes, and attribute them all to the institution of Slavery among us. They charge us with using deadly weapons for light and trivial offences, and of resorting to

the duel to settle our private difficulties, much more frequently than is common among people where Slavery does not exist. I shall not deny the fact, that the Southern people occasionally resort to the duel; and even occasionally use knives, and other deadly weapons against each other. But it must be remembered that the point of honor is recognized in every country in Christendom: whether it be right or wrong, it is not my province to determine: all that I wish is, to prove that the practice is not peculiar to Slave countries, and is consequently not attributable to Slavery.

Most of the duels at the South are between foreigners. In New-Orleans, where most of them occur, the parties are almost invariably citizens or subjects of foreign countries—most commonly French or Spaniards. It is a rare thing to hear of a duel, or deadly rencounter of any kind between Southern men. In the frontier settlements, deadly rencounters occasionally happen; but this might be reasonably expected—for in these settlements, persons congregate from all parts of the world: the adventurer from the old States of the Union—the reckless Frenchman, Spaniard, &c. But the deeds of blood alluded to, are not confined to *Slave settlements*: they are common in all

frontier settlements, without regard to the institution of Slavery. The truth is, the Southern portion of the confederacy is much more free from doing acts of murder and villany, than the Northern. The Northern papers have teemed for years past with accounts of the most horrid murders: husbands murdering their wives—wives their husbands—fathers their sons—murders committed for the sake of money: in several instances, whole families have been murdered for the purpose of robbing the house. Such horrid enormities are never heard of at the South.

Sexual crimes are considered unusually common in the Slave States of this Union. I have already commented upon this charge against us, and have admitted its existence to some extent; but have denied, and will deny again, that we are guilty to the extent charged upon us by our opponents. The practice prevails mostly about the cities, where the majority of the population are without Slaves—and, in fact, where most of them are foreigners or Northerners. I will venture the remark, that a large majority of the crimes referred to, are committed by foreigners, or by persons living in the non-slaveholding States.

III. THE COUNTRY.—There are benefits flowing from the institution of Slavery which have

not been enumerated, and which I prefer classing under the above head. The reader will please call to mind a fact already mentioned, viz: that the constitution of the Negro peculiarly fits him for a hot climate: that in such a climate he is in his proper element, whilst the white man, on the contrary, is adapted to a more northern climate, and cannot bear extensive exposure at the South, without great risk of injury to his constitution. It must be admitted as a fact, then, that without Negro labor, the larger and more fertile portion of the South would be left uncultivated. I take it for granted that the Negroes must be in a state of Slavery; for if it were otherwise, free black labor could never be commanded to the extent necessary to cultivate the soil as at present. The history of the world contains abundant proof that people in the condition of our blacks will never labor to any extent, unless driven to it by necessity or by authority: hence so long as we have such a boundless extent of unsettled country, we could not reasonably expect the Negroes to labor unless they were driven to it by the authority of the Master. The institution of Slavery, then, is the source of vast benefits to the country; destroy it, and you ruin Southern agriculture, with all the numberless blessings that flow from it.

But for the sake of perspicuity, I will use a little system:

1st. *Slave Labor improves the Health of the Country.*—In every country—in every southern country in particular, there are extensive sources of disease, as ponds, marshes, &c. New-Orleans, Charleston, and other Southern towns and cities, are built upon marshes, which have been filled up by Slave labor. Our Southern climate being unfriendly to the constitution of the white man, he could never be induced voluntarily to undertake the removal of such sources of disease. The Negro, on the contrary, can perform such labor without the slightest injury to his constitution. In Spain, Italy, Mexico, and in some of the South-American Republics, where Negro Slavery does not exist, the causes of disease have accumulated to an extent which renders the climate in the highest degree unfriendly to the constitution of the white man. Negro Slavery, as we have it here, under the guidance of intelligent white men, would make those now desolate countries blossom as the rose. Sources of disease would be removed and man would soon regain his true position in the scale of being.

2d. The cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar of the South, all the products of Slave labor, constitute

the basis of much of the wealth of this country, North and South, and also of Europe. Destroy the production of cotton at the South, and you will almost ruin Europe and America ; for all other portions of the world, it has been ascertained, could not supply the demand for this article. Since the acquisition of Texas, the South enjoys a monopoly of the cotton lands of the world : for all efforts to grow cotton in the East Indies have proved utterly fruitless ; and the supply from Brazil and Egypt is quite too small to meet the present demand of the world. The world, then, is indebted to the Slave labour of the South, for a supply of this very important article. The benefits resulting to the world from this single article, are incalculable. Millions of persons, here as well as in Europe, are engaged in the production, transportation, and manufacture of this article : and the various articles manufactured from it have become indispensable to the comfort of every country. Cloths made of cotton are now used by the people of every country. Shirts, table-cloths and various other articles, are made of cotton. More than one-half of the manufacturing establishments of this country and of England are engaged in the manufacture of cotton goods. Thus it appears, that in different ways, the cotton raised

at the South by our Slaves, gives employment to a larger number of individuals — contributes more to the comfort of mankind generally, than any other single, nay, any other five articles of trade, commerce, or agriculture. We make annually between two and three millions of bales, worth in the raw state from sixty to seventy millions of dollars. When manufactured, this cotton is worth almost an incalculable sum.

I have no tables before me showing the amount of cotton raised in other countries : the quantity, however, is small, compared to that which is raised in the United States : the quality, likewise, is inferior. If, then, Slavery were abolished in the United States, the culture of cotton, with all the blessings that flow from it, would be utterly annihilated. The whole Southern portion of our country would be left as a desolate waste, unfit for the residence of man. More than one-half of the manufacturing establishments of England, the United States, and of other countries, would be prostrated, and the world deprived of all the comforts and blessings that it now enjoys from the use of cotton goods.

Our rice, tobacco, and sugar, are likewise extensively beneficial to the world. These articles are extensively raised at the South, and thence

sent to the different parts of the world, where they enter largely into general consumption.

Our rice is sent to many parts of the world, where it is extensively used as a cheap and wholesome article of diet. The destruction of this single branch of agriculture would bring almost incalculable evils upon the world; for it is not only useful as a common article of diet, but is almost indispensable in sickness, as every medical man well knows. Tobacco is an article of extensive use, and employs in its production and manufacture, a great number of individuals. This article is the product of Slave labor, and could not be raised to any thing like the same extent without. Destroy Slavery, then, and you will greatly injure this vast interest, and bring to want and ruin the great number of individuals that now depend upon it.

Sugar is almost exclusively the product of Slave labor, and cannot, it is ascertained, be profitably made by the whites. Free black labor can never be commanded to any considerable extent; so we are bound to rely upon Slave labor. In the British West Indies, where Slavery has been abolished, the production of sugar has greatly declined of late, and nothing has saved this interest from total ruin there, but the system of importing

free laborers from Africa adopted by the British government. I shall hereafter show the motives of England in desiring the abolition of Slavery in the United States : it will be found that these are any thing but philanthropic. Seeing the great error committed by her in abolishing Slavery in the West Indies, she is now desirous of bringing other nations to her own level, by abolishing Slavery among them. This subject will be examined with some care in a subsequent part of this work.

The amount of sugar raised in the United States is getting to be considerable ; and when our sugar lands in Texas are brought into cultivation, we shall be enabled, not only to supply our own wants, but to export largely to other countries. I have conversed with gentlemen who are familiar with the sugar business, and they assure me that we have sugar lands enough to supply our own wants abundantly, and to export largely to other parts of the world. Destroy the institution of Slavery, and you destroy in a great measure the whole of this vast interest.

We are indebted to Southern Slavery for all the above valuable articles of agriculture. It has been asserted and proven over and over again, *that the constitution of the white man is not adapt-*

ed to long continued exposure in a hot climate. In proof that such is the case, I need only further mention, that there does not exist on the globe a solitary nation of whites, in a very warm climate, in which you will find active industry in agricultural pursuits. Mexico, Central America, and all the South-American States, where Slavery has been abolished, are in a waste, desolate condition. The agricultural resources of those countries are all undeveloped—their governments unsettled—the people are collected mostly about towns and villages, where their time is spent mostly in idleness. The tropical countries of Asia are nearly in the same condition: in fact, it is the case every where in hot countries, where agricultural labour depends on the whites. The fact may be asserted without the slightest fear of successful contradiction, that the genuine Caucasian race has never pursued agricultural labor successfully in very hot climates. Wherever this race has flourished in hot countries, they have had the African to till the soil for them. This has been ascertained to have been the case in ancient Egypt thousands of years ago.

We may set it down as an established fact, then, that but for our Slaves the South would be *uncultivated*; that the primitive forests would

again cover our fields, and the world would be deprived of all the incalculable benefits that flow from our agriculture.

The Negro was made for the south—is always found there, and cannot exist and flourish in a northern climate. This fact was very early ascertained after the Negroes were brought to this country. A northern climate was found fatal to them: hence Negro Slavery could never be made to take root in the Northern States of this Union. The climate of the South, on the contrary, was found highly favorable to the constitution of the Negro, but very unfavorable to the white man: hence the latter found it impossible to perform the labor here that he could in the North. So manifest was this fact to all persons, after a short residence at the South, that the most prejudiced very soon acquiesced in the necessity of further importing Slaves from Africa, in order to supply the demand for laborers. The benevolent Las Casas, as has been remarked, admitted that a continuance of Negro Slavery was indispensable to the prosperity of the South. He very soon became convinced that active labor in the sun was unfavorable to the constitution of the white man, and that Slavery was totally unfitted to the Indian: he saw these latter melting away, when in Slavery,

like snow before the rising sun : hence he maintained that, under the circumstances, Negro Slavery was indispensable. George Whitefield, and many other distinguished individuals, very early saw that Negro Slavery was indispensable to the prosperity of the South.

But I have not as yet enumerated all the advantages of Slavery :

3d. *Slavery adds security and strength to the South, in a Military point of view.* — I am aware that the South, in case of war, is considered the most vulnerable part of the Union. This conclusion has resulted from a belief that our Slaves, like the down-trodden masses of England and other countries, would avail themselves of the first opportunity to throw off the yoke of Slavery : and hence it has been inferred by the less informed of our opponents, that our Slaves would be ready to join any foe that might invade our shores. Acting on this impression, the attempt has been several times made to stir up insurrection among our Slaves. Seventy years ago, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, offered liberty to the Slaves of Virginia, if they would join the British forces against their Masters. This they refused to do, notwithstanding the many tempting offers that were made them : they preferred adversity with

their Masters, to freedom and gold without them.

During the late war, several attempts were made to induce the Negroes to abandon their Masters ; but this they always refused, though circumstances were highly favorable to the success of any attempt of the kind. Some years ago, when hostilities were apprehended with France, the plan of invading the Southern States, and of stirring up insurrection among the Negroes was instantly devised : and it is said that a British officer of high distinction, some years ago, deliberately planned the invasion of the Southern States at several points, with a view of stirring up our Slaves to insurrection. And very lately, we have been threatened with a black regiment from the West Indies, thinking that our Slaves would unite with them against the whites. Mr. Adams has said that in case of war, the South would be the Flanders of America. But notwithstanding all this, the South has nothing to fear. During the long period of seventy years, in which various attempts have been made to stimulate the Slaves to insurrection, there has never been any serious disturbance among them. A few disturbances have occurred in particular neighborhoods, in which a few white persons have been killed, but they have all been easily suppressed and peace

restored. There is not a country under Heaven, where as few domestic disturbances have occurred within the same period, as in the Slave States of this Union.

Scenes of riot and bloodshed, and revolutionary attempts are exceedingly common in most other countries, notwithstanding the existence of large standing armies, supported at an enormous expense, designed to keep the people in subjection. Even in the Northern States of this Union, mobs are not uncommon. Philadelphia, of late years, has been the theatre of several large mobs, which were not suppressed until the military force was called in requisition, and several lives were lost. So frequent, of late, have scenes of the kind become, that a permanent military organization in the city has been found necessary. It has been very properly predicted that such a military organization will be found necessary in all the large cities in the non-slaveholding States, in the course of a very few years.

The rulers of England have become, of late, better informed, as to the military strength of the Southern States. They have instituted the most extensive inquiries, with a view of finding out the true character of our black population. Facts on this subject have been collected from every quar-

ter : their consuls, and other agents in this country, have gathered much information, and transmitted it to London, in order that the rulers of the empire might be thoroughly informed upon the subject of Slavery. The object of this collection of facts was to ascertain the probability of stimulating our Slaves to insurrection, in the event of a war with Great Britain. The result of the whole investigation has been a settled conviction on the minds of the English rulers, that it is impossible to stimulate our Slaves to insurrection. All the historical facts bearing on this subject, tend to strengthen this conviction. I have before remarked that the Negro is distinguished for attachment to his Master, and submission to his authority. During the two wars with Great Britain, the Negro, under the most trying circumstances, remained true to his Master. Whether his Master was whig, or tory, it made no difference with him ; he continued his obedience, and resisted every attempt to seduce him from his allegiance. During both wars, the strongest Slave counties in the State of Virginia, were often left without any efficient white population to keep the Negroes in check, if they had been disposed to rebel ; but no disturbance, worthy the name, ever occurred among them.

The Negro ever has been, and ever will be, true to his Master, and this is the secret of our military strength at the South. The great body of the whites can organize themselves into military companies, and go forward—without the least fear of disturbance at home—to meet the enemies of the country in the field, whilst the Negroes—under the superintendence of a limited number of whites—can remain at home, and cultivate the soil. Thus during war our plantations will still be cultivated, and every thing needful for the sustenance of the country raised in abundance. In this particular, we have a great advantage over countries where Negro Slavery does not exist. Where the labor is performed alone by free whites, the very same persons that work the farms are those that are called upon to fight the battles of the country: hence in such countries, during war, the business of agriculture must, in a great measure, cease; at least, it must be greatly crippled.

During our wars, the larger portion of the supplies for the support of the army, were the product of Slave labor at the South: and what is remarkable, the Southern portion of the Union—though weak and divided, and being in contact with a hostile Indian population, invaded by Eng-

lish and Hessians—nevertheless stood the brunt alone for several years; almost conquering their numerous enemies, before they received any efficient support from the North. Besides this, there is something in the institution of Slavery that inspires with a lofty, patriotic courage. There is a higher point of honor at the South—more chivalrous courage—than at the North. For example, look at the late struggle in Texas: a mere handful of Southern men—a majority of them Slave-holders—contending successfully against the comparatively colossal power of Mexico. A population of about fifty thousand—white and black, large and small, male and female—not able at any time to bring twenty-five hundred men into the field, contending successfully against a population of nine millions, all said to be freemen. The world cannot produce an instance similar, where the institution of domestic Slavery did not exist. Domestic Slavery existed in Rome, Athens, and Sparta, during their palmyest and most chivalrous days.

Most of the Southern people very early learn the use of the rifle; and from the habit of riding on horseback, all soon become good horsemen: hence they are prepared, at their country's call, to rush almost immediately, fully armed and equip-

ed, to the scene of danger. But little training is necessary to prepare them for efficient action. An inferior number of Southern men defeated, at New-Orleans during the late war, a far superior number of well-trained and disciplined English troops, under the command of the most experienced and distinguished Generals. During all our wars, whether with whites or with the Indians, Southern men have displayed high-toned chivalry and undaunted courage. This can be ascribed only to the spirit which is fostered by Slavery.

4th. *Slavery will tend to preserve the purity of our Republican Institutions.*—I agree with Mr. McDUFFIE, that “Slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice.” In a republican government like ours, the right of suffrage must extend to all freemen who have reached the age of twenty-one years; at least, such is the case in most of the States of this Union. Such being the fact, the non-slaveholding States must have a larger proportionate number of unenlightened voters than the Slaveholding States. The reason of this is very obvious: it is this: the great body of those who perform the drudgery of society at the South, are Slaves; and in consequence, are excluded from the ballot-box—whilst at the North, the whole mass, though but little superior to our

blacks, many of them, enjoy the right of suffrage. I do not wish to be understood as intimating that all labor is incompatible with mental culture—far otherwise—for some of the most intelligent men in our land are laborers. In point of literary attainments, BURRITT, the blacksmith, has but few equals in this, or any other country. I do, however, maintain, that there is, in the present state of the world, a certain kind of drudgery, that is wholly incompatible with high mental culture. A man engaged in incessant toil during the day and part of the night, exposed to the sun, the rain, and every change of weather, has but little leisure, and less disposition, to improve his mental faculties. The small portion of time allowed him is much more likely to be engaged in rest, which is necessary to repair his exhausted energies; or if not, in something more agreeable than solitary study to such a mind. Some resort to the bottle, and spend their leisure hours in revelry and mirth. I need not be reminded that occasionally, men engaged in the severest toil, excel in mental improvement: there are exceptions to all rules, but exceptions constitute no objection to the rule itself. I should be pleased to see a larger number of those engaged in severe toil, engaged in the laudable effort to improve their

minds ; but this cannot be expected to the fullest extent, until we have made still further advance in labor-saving machinery.

The time may, and no doubt will arrive, when every man can perform the labor necessary for the support of himself and family, and at the same time cultivate his mental powers to the highest point of improvement.

I wish not to be understood as maintaining that all labor, even now, is incompatible with a very high state of mental improvement: this is known to be otherwise. Indeed, a certain degree of labor is essential to the highest mental culture ; it imparts to the body the degree of health and vigor which is essential to high mental effort. A sound mind, and a sound body, are much more closely connected than philosophers belonging to the old school have ever dreamed of : and to get this sound body, we must attend to the laws of health, one of the most important of which is exercise. Labor, then, of a certain kind—mechanical and professional labor, for instance, and agricultural labor, when not too severe—are not only compatible with high mental culture, but promotive of it.

But intense agricultural toil in a southern climate, and in new settlements in all climates—the

rougher portion of mechanical toil, rough labor on public works, and a thousand menial offices in society, are totally incompatible with any high degree of mental culture.

In governments, therefore, where this class or these classes of persons have the important privilege of selecting the public rulers, we may expect injudicious selections: a stream never rises above its fountain, and a people never act higher than their degree of intelligence, and the motives that govern them. At the South, the whole of that class of persons, embracing our Slaves, are excluded from the polls: hence the mass of voters are more intellectual than they are in the non-slaveholding States. This is one reason why the South has commonly taken the lead in public affairs—why so many intelligent men from the South find their way to the seat of government.

In making these remarks, I do not wish to be understood as participating in the apprehensions of those who fear the corruption and downfall of our government. Such an event may take place, but certainly not until a very distant future: not until our whole continent is settled—literally crowded with population: until every physical obstacle is removed that is calculated to stimulate the energies of our people.

The history of the world presents us with **one** important fact, viz: that no improving nation **has** ever declined so long as it had territory to settle, and powerful physical obstacles to overcome. Read the histories of ancient nations—Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece and Rome—and it will be found that they retained their virtue, their patriotism, their strength of empire, until their utmost limits were filled, and until all formidable physical obstacles were overcome.

I therefore have no apprehensions for the safety of our government: it will continue to flourish until it has performed its mission; and then like nations which have gone before it, may exist only in the histories of the world.

CHAPTER VII

CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE CONDITION OF THE GLOBE THAT RENDER SLAVERY NECESSARY

BEFORE proceeding further, it is necessary to notice those circumstances in the condition of the globe that render the existence of slavery

necessary; or what may be termed the true philosophy of Slavery. It may be necessary very highly, to allude to those evidences which prove that this globe was not made perfect at first, but is progressive, having passed from a nebulous or rude state to its present condition; the animals and vegetables on its surface partaking of the progressive improvement. From the same evidences it will appear that the earth is not yet perfect but is still improving, with all the animals and vegetables existing upon it.

An examination of the Geological strata composing the surface of our globe, furnishes to the mind conclusive evidence, that it existed myriads of ages anterior to the creation of man. No material changes, in fact, have occurred on the surface of our globe, since the creation of man; for neither his remains nor any of his works can be found in any of the geological strata—a sure evidence of his very recent creation. There seems to have been vast periods of indefinite duration, when no forms of life, such as we now have, existed on the globe.

The first state of the earth seems to have been one of great expansion, what modern astronomers have denominated a nebulous state; a state, in the language of Scripture, when the “earth was

without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep." In this first stage neither vegetable nor animal life could exist, nor any material substance in its condensed state. But in this rudimental mass existed the elements of all living, animate and inanimate, vegetable and animal, but to unite the elements of being into living masses, it was necessary that the "spirit of God should brood over the vast abyss."

The primitive rocks were formed, and light was refracted from the chaotic mass. At a more advanced period, the lower orders of animals and vegetables were created; as the various forms of shell fish, the coral insect, and such plants as were fitted to grow on the hottest parts of the earth. Islands were formed in the vast ocean; aquatic vegetables grew upon the sub-marine rocks of the new formation, which served as food for the various species of shell fish and common fish.

The next step in the order of creation seems to have been the creation of various huge animals; some of the lizard tribe, the turtle, the crocodile and other rude forms of existence of a like nature.

The earth at this stage of its existence seems to have been subject to violent volcanic action,

which no doubt, in a great measure; caused the inequality on its surface. We find in the strata produced by these convulsions the remains of animals and vegetables of various kinds—"which," in the language of a distinguished author, "are the monuments and evidences of these changes."

There appears next to have been a more perfect creation: land animals of a higher order than any previously formed, seem now to have been created—such, for instance, as the mammoth, the megalonix, the hyena, &c.

"Five successive races of plants," continues the author above quoted, "and four successive races of animals, appear to have been created and swept away by the physical revolutions of the globe, before the system of things became so permanent as to fit the world for man."

As before remarked, we do not, in any of the geological strata, find the remains of man or any of his works; a conclusive evidence that he has been but recently introduced upon the globe. I am aware that many well-informed and candid persons oppose the views above advanced: they ascribe all the geological changes which are so manifest on the surface of our globe, to the action of the waters of the flood: but the fact above stated, viz: that the remains of man and his works have not been found in any of the geological strata

ta, furnishes a conclusive refutation of this hypothesis. The flood that swept the earth, and destroyed the varied orders of existence upon its surface did not spare man ; for we are informed that all the myriads of human beings which then peopled the earth were destroyed by the whelming flood, with the exception of eight souls, who were miraculously saved in an ark prepared immediately under the Divine direction. If, then, the changes that we see, had been brought about by the flood the remains of man, and his works ought to be found with the remains of vegetables and animals.

This, then, is not a stationary order of things, but a progressive one.

We have seen the earth gradually emerging from a chaotic, or nebulous state, and necessarily improving, until the period when man began his existance. Animal and vegetable existence—the remains of which furnish the monuments and evidences of these changes—improved, necessarily with the improvement of the globe.

One remarkable fact must be observed in these changes, viz : that the first creations were without conscious existence ; the next possessed the merest germs of intellect. At each successive change subsequently there was an increase of

mental power, until we reach the high intellect of man. Mental power has more and more preponderated at every successive stage of our world's existence.

It may be proper to introduce other testimonies to prove the progressive improvement of our globe. I take for granted, what I presume no one will deny, that the globe is governed by the same laws that govern the planetary world generally. This fact being admitted, there will be no difficulty in demonstrating the position for which I contend.

The large telescope invented by Sir Wm. Herschell first opened to astronomers the true theory of the universe. For the first time it was accurately ascertained that there existed throughout the universe a mass of unformed, or inorganic matter, termed nebulous matter. This matter is aggregated at different points, and is demonstrated to be the material of future worlds; for the telescope has revealed rudimental globes at different stages of formation, which are gradually springing out of this matter. Comets are now very rationally supposed to be globes in a state of progress, which will ultimately attain a perfectly globular form, and be the abodes of varied orders of animal and vegetable life.

One universal law seems to prevail throughout the universe. Like animals and plants, worlds have their beginning or birth, their progressive improvement, their maturity, decay, and dissolution. Fifteen hundred stars, none below the sixth degree of magnitude, have disappeared from different constellations within the last three centuries. Forty have changed their sizes—several have been consumed by fire. They are first observed to present a flaming rush-light aspect, so bright as to be visible to the naked eye at noon-day: they afterwards become pale, ashy, and finally disappear altogether. One of these was seen to burn sixteen months before it finally disappeared. These facts very clearly prove that stars and planets constitute no exception to the general order: that, like animals and plants, they have their birth, growth, maturity, decay and dissolution. Our world, seems, even yet very far removed from a state of perfect maturity: indeed, the solar system to which we belong, seems still to a considerable extent in a nebulous or imperfect state. Astronomers regard the existence of the zodiacal light as proof of the nebulous state of the atmosphere of the sun.

Our earth is still in a comparatively rude, *uncultivated state*—its resources and energies still

undeveloped: nevertheless, its surface in this particular is not uniform; some parts are much more highly improved and cultivated than others, and climate and other circumstances produce great and striking peculiarities. Throughout the vast regions embraced within the arctic circles, the whole scene is one of cheerless desolation: there is no cultivation of the earth—no exercise of mechanical skill, and the principle that distinguishes humanity from the brute creation, is scarcely developed in the dwarfish beings that inhabit its surface. This cheerless region will never be a fit abode for man in an advanced state of civilization, unless there should occur changes in climate, which of course cannot be anticipated until a very distant future.

The torrid zone, embracing a vast belt encircling the globe at the equatorial regions is not of one uniform aspect throughout. The continent of Africa, embraced within this circle, is still in its primeval state—the forests stand in all their primitive grandeur, and the arts of civilization are entirely unknown to its inhabitants. That part of Asia, likewise, embraced within this circle, is in a rude uncultivated state: in a word, with but few exceptions, the countries embraced within the torrid zone, have been but little improved

by the hand of man. Some few spots (as some of the West India Islands) have been highly cultivated; but in nearly every such instance, the labor has been performed by the black race under the direction and control of the white.

It is in the temperate regions of the earth where there has been the greatest industry. In many parts of this region the earth has been carried to a high pitch of cultivation: the various mechanical arts have been greatly improved—science has flourished, and every thing which contributes to the happiness and comfort of man has been advanced. Nevertheless, the resources of this favored region are, to a great extent, undeveloped: a large portion of its surface still exists in a rude, uncultivated state. From the great improvements which are daily made in the arts and sciences, we have a right to infer that immense improvements will yet take place in machinery of all kinds: improvements which will ultimately enable man to perform all necessary labor with but a moderate exertion of his energies.

Until this point is reached, rough physical energies are of course necessary to polish the surface of the earth, develop its resources, and thus to fit it for the residence of man in the maturity of his manhood.

[Mental and physical power are, of course, both necessary ; but in the actual state of the world, physical power is most important in working out the ultimate destiny of this globe. Take our country, for instance: we have a vast unpeopled region—the forests still standing—the earth still untouched by the hand of the husbandman. To cut down this forest—plow up the earth—build houses and cities—connect the various parts of this vast continent by railroads, canals, and electric telegraphs, requires something more than mere head work: hand work is necessary, and foot work—hard bodily labor. The most effectual way to put a stop to all improvement, all progress, will be to polish our people and make them gentlemen in the European sense of the term.

Captain Marryatt, Dickens, and other European travellers, have asserted in their books that the United States are rapidly tending towards barbarism ; but it is evident that their views are based upon a total misconception of the true philosophy of society. We have not, it is true, the polish and glitter of European society, nor do we desire these : we are in the possession of those physical energies which will ultimately work out for our country a destiny more glorious than Europe ever dreamed of.

To produce the highest results, mental and physical energy must be united: either, taken separately, would, in a measure, be inefficient. The sixty millions of human beings inhabiting the vast continent of Africa, combining so much physical energy for the want of mental energy to control them, do little or nothing. The same is true of the Hindoos, and the American Indians.

Take mental energy alone, and there is no improvement—no progress—no efficient and useful action: but unite the two, and you produce the most wonderful results. Extensive and useful plans are formed, which are carried out by the physical energies of the mass. Sciences are cultivated, the useful arts spring into existence, and thus the happiness and wealth of society is promoted.

I will now apply the principles developed to the institution of Slavery as it exists in this country. Extensive exposure in our southern climate, as has been repeatedly remarked, is highly detrimental to the constitution of the white man, whilst it is well adapted to the Negro. Slavery here, then, is productive of much good: the great physical energies of the Negroes are properly directed under the guidance of the superior intellect of the white man; and in consequence, the ener-

gies and resources of the country are fully developed. This union of mental and physical energy is working out vast results, the ultimate end of which no one can conjecture. I have already commented at considerable length on the advantages of Southern Slavery: I shall therefore not resume the subject in this place.

Destroy our Slavery and you put a stop to all progress, all improvement at the South: you throw it back to its primitive state, in which it is only fit for the residence of beasts of prey. Take away the guidance of the white man, and you alike reduce the country to a solitude; for it is a fact, demonstrated in the history of St. Domingo, and other West India Islands, that the Negroes, left to themselves, will not work. In the course of half a century, which is about the length of time that St. Domingo has been independent, the products of the island have fallen off in the proportion of one hundred and fifty as compared with fifteen. Even within the short period since England emancipated her Slaves in the West Indies, the products of the islands have greatly fallen off. I shall hereafter prove that the whole scheme of English emancipation in the West Indies, has turned out to be a most splendid failure. In the present state of the globe, an extensive

division of labour is necessary : the grand result, by this means, is infinitely increased. Some are engaged in the various branches of mechanics—others in the professions—others in agriculture, and others in the performance of the rougher labor of society, requiring a great expenditure of physical energy. This last is the most numerous, but at the same time the most useful class. Being engaged in constant physical toil, they have but little time for mental culture : hence, as a class, they are less advanced, mentally, than any other.

Ignorant men, having a repugnance to physical toil, will not voluntarily betake themselves to it : they must therefore be urged to it by necessity or by the authority of a superior. In either case, he is practically a Slave. In Great Britain, theoretical Slavery does not exist ; but practically it exists in its worst forms. The poor man, though theoretically free, is bound by the necessities of his being, to submit to the hardest drudgery, and at times to the worst possible treatment. He must live—but to do so, he must work from twelve to sixteen hours in the twenty-four.

Authority at the South controls the working mass, instead of necessity. The energies of the Slave are controlled and directed by the intellect of the Master : hence he is induced to perform

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the great function assigned him in the order of nature. Society may be compared to a great organism, with various functions to perform. To our limited intellects, some are higher, more useful, and more honorable than others; but in the view of an infinite mind, they may be all alike useful—all alike elevated and honorable. The Slave that performs his duties well may be as honorable and useful in the eye of infinity, as the proudest monarch that ever sat upon a throne.

Mr. Jefferson has done society an injury by proclaiming the absurd dogma that all men are born free and equal. In no particular, whatever, are men born free and equal. Some are born Slaves, and others Monarchs: others are born in a state of political freedom—others again in a state of political bondage. Physically, mentally, morally, and religiously, men are born very unequal.

Men do not, in the present state of the world, stand upon the ground of abstraction; they stand upon the grounds of compromise and expediency: they take the world as they find it, and adopt that line of conduct under the circumstances which will best promote the end of their being. The question always is, What is best under the circumstances? and not, What is best in the ab-

stract? Men do not, and cannot adopt abstract principles of right, and then conform their actions to them. We know of no universal truths which are applicable, in the present state of the world, to universal mankind: it is therefore folly to apply the principles of abstract reasoning to the institution of Slavery, with a view to its abolition.

If I am asked whether, according to my views, Slavery will ever cease upon our earth—I reply, that it will, but at a period so distant as to place the matter beyond the reach of our calculations. When the energies of the globe shall have been fully developed—when its surface shall have been brought into a high state of cultivation—when mechanical industry shall have produced its highest results, and man in mental improvement shall have partaken of the general progress—in a word, when the earth and all things upon its surface, embracing man, shall have attained the maturity of manhood—then may we expect universal political and domestic freedom, but not till then.

But we may expect great changes in human society before that period arrives: the unimprovable races will become extinct. The Indian is already in a rapid progress towards extinction; the Hindoos, the Chinese and others of that grade, *will soon follow*. The Negro in Africa is secure.

on account of the climate ; if the white man could live in Africa, the Negro would either become his slave, or gradually decline like our Indians, and finally disappear from the earth. The native Australian will soon disappear from the earth ; the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, are in a state of rapid decline. Sixty years ago they numbered four hundred and fifty thousand ; now their numbers do not exceed one hundred thousand. In the course of one century more, they will have disappeared entirely from the earth, and this in spite of every effort on the part of Missionaries and others to elevate them in the scale of civilization. The inhabitants of all the Pacific Islands will soon follow.

As before expressed, though I do not condemn Missionary efforts, I still think their fruits will not equal our expectations. The destiny of all the inferior grades of mankind with the exception, probably, of the Negro, is extinction — and extinction, too, much earlier than most people imagine. Were it compatible with the design of this work, it would be an easy matter to show how this is to be brought about, but I must desist and pass on to other considerations.

CHAPTER VIII.

POSITION OF ENGLAND IN REFERENCE TO SLAVERY.

THE position of England in reference to the subject of Slavery, is deemed of sufficient importance to be entitled to a separate consideration. Her views and sentiments are especially important to the people of this country, on account of her expressed wish to see Slavery abolished in Texas and in the United States.

We have the principles and the policy of the British government distinctly laid down in a despatch from the Earl of Aberdeen, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to the Right Hon. Richard Pakenham, dated December 26th, 1843. His Lordship states, that—

“It must be, and is well known, both to the United States, and to the whole world, that Great Britain desires, and is constantly exerting herself to procure the general abolition of Slavery throughout the world. But the means which she has adopted, and will continue to adopt, for this humane and virtuous purpose, are open and undisguised.”

Again :

“With regard to Texas, we avow that we wish to see slavery abolished there as elsewhere, and

we should rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government should be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to abolish Slavery eventually, and under proper conditions throughout the Republic."

And again :

"The government of the Slaveholding States may be assured that, although we shall not desist from those open and honest efforts which we have constantly made for procuring the abolition of Slavery throughout the world, we shall neither openly nor secretly resort to any measures which can tend to disturb their internal tranquility or thereby to affect the perpetuity of the American Union."

We have in these extracts the principles and policy of England distinctly disclosed. We are informed, 1st. That England desires the abolition of Slavery throughout the world. 2ndly. That she has been openly exerting herself to bring about that result, and 3rdly. That she will continue to exert herself for that purpose. As to the views of England upon the subject of Slavery taken in the abstract, we have nothing to do ; she has a right to her sentiments upon that, as upon all other subjects, and so long as those views do not lead her to act injuriously upon our interests, we can, and ought to say nothing. When, however, *her abstract notions upon any subject lead her to*

interfere in our domestic arrangements, then we have a right to speak, and we will speak.

But what are the measures that England has openly adopted to procure the abolition of Slavery throughout the world? We hear of no steps taken by her to liberate the forty or fifty millions of white Slaves in Russia. We have heard of no hint or even a suggestion to the Russian Government on the subject. In the East Indies, Slavery prevails to a very great extent, nevertheless, we hear of no efforts on the part of the British Government to abolish it, though the country forms a part of her own dominions. Slavery likewise prevails in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, and in various parts of Germany, but we hear of no effort on the part of England, to bring about its abolition, though in all those countries she exerts a very powerful influence through her several diplomatic agents. In Africa there are not less than forty millions of abject Slaves; nevertheless, no attempt is made by England to liberate them. The assertion of Lord Aberdeen then, that England has been making open and honest efforts for "procuring the abolition of Slavery throughout the world," must be taken with some limitation.

But what are the open and honest efforts which have been made by England to abolish Slavery in

the United States? We have heard of no proposition to the General or State Governments in reference to the abolition of Slavery. If, then, England has been exerting herself to procure the abolition of Slavery in the United States, her efforts have not been open and undisguised as she represents, but just the reverse.

We hear of no proposition on the part of England, to the Brazilian Government, to abolish Slavery in that country. None, directly, by the British Government to Spain, on the subject. In reference to Texas, the Earl of Aberdeen says:

"We have put ourselves forward in pressing the Government of Mexico to acknowledge Texas as independent."

And again he says:

"We shall rejoice, if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government shall be accompanied by an engagement on the part of Texas to abolish Slavery eventually, and under proper conditions throughout the Republic."

From these declarations it is evident that England endeavored to bring about the abolition of Slavery in Texas. The object was to be accomplished by means of her influence in Mexico.— The recognition of the independence of Texas by Mexico, was to be accompanied with the condition of abolition in the former.

But though Great Britain has done nothing directly to bring about the abolition of Slavery on this side of the Atlantic, except in the case of Texas, she has done much indirectly. This has been accomplished through the agency of abolition societies, and through the influence of particular abolitionists. Prominent abolitionists have been appointed by her to important positions in Slaveholding countries, on this side of the Atlantic, with a view of acting upon the subject of Slavery. We have a prominent example of this, in the case of Cuba. Since the year 1817, England has been permitted, by the treaty which was then ratified between herself and the Spanish Government, to keep a permanent commission at Havana, for the execution of said treaty. Her efforts at first were directed to the abolition of the Slave Trade, but after the emancipation of the Slaves in her own West India possessions, she wished to go further and bring about an abolition of Slavery in Cuba likewise. In the year 1839, agents were sent by the British Anti-Slavery societies, to the city of Madrid, in order to make propositions to the Spanish Government respecting the abolition of Slavery in Cuba. Among other things, it was proposed that the owners of Slaves be compensated as in the case of British emancipation.

The Spanish Government did not, of course, entertain the proposition for a single moment. In the same year, (we believe) Mr. David Turnbull, a writer of considerable ability, and a thorough abolitionist, was appointed Consul, and superintendent of liberated Africans at the Havana. Immediately on his arrival there he commenced a series of movements which were highly offensive to the local government. So much so, that his recall was procured even before his final exequatur. He, however, for some time longer remained on the Island as superintendent of liberated Africans, but was finally compelled to leave, so perfectly incendiary were his movements in reference to Slavery. After he left Cuba, he resided alternately on the Bahama Islands and in Jamaica. His removal seems in no degree to have abated his zeal in favor of emancipation; for while residing in the Bahama Islands, he planned an insurrection which was to commence at Santiago, a port on the South side of the Island of Cuba, where he soon after landed, and commenced operations in person. He was arrested and sent to Havana, but was again liberated on condition that he would leave the Island. He would, in all probability have been put on trial for his life, but *from respect and fear of the British Government.*

Since that time he has resided in Jamaica, and has continued, it seems, with unabated zeal to prosecute his plan of a general insurrection. His plan has been detected, exposed and defeated; at least for the time being. His plan of insurrection, it seems, was a general massacre of the white inhabitants by the Negroes, and the establishment of the independence of the Island, as in the case of St. Domingo. Turnbull being the provisional Governor, the testimony of those who were examined in reference to this conspiracy, all agree that it was planned and was to be executed by Turnbull, assisted by a few of the Creoles.

We have here a sample of those "open and honest efforts to abolish Slavery throughout the world," and we see the fruits. No case precisely similar has occurred in the United States, but the abolition excitement at the North has been stimulated, encouraged, and kept alive mostly by English abolitionists. But for the interference of these, the excitement upon the subject would probably never have commenced; or if it had, would long since have died away. Leading abolitionists have several times visited the United States, in order to illuminate the Northern mind upon the all-important subject of Slavery: tracts and documents of various kinds have been sent

over and circulated. The late able letter of Gov. Hammond of South-Carolina, was called forth, in part, in reply to a circular which was sent over to this country by the abolitionists of England to be circulated among the Northern people.

In an able article published in the Southern Quarterly Review, for October, 1842, headed—*“Canaan Identified with the Ethiopian,”* which has been commonly ascribed to the pen of Dr. S. A. Cartwright, of Natchez, Miss, we are informed that while the author was in London a short time before, he ascertained that the British Government had instituted extensive inquiries as to the probability of exciting a servile war in the Southern States, and that the conclusion had been arrived at that in no event could the Slaves be stimulated to rebel. Seeing the utter impracticability of this project, they turned their attention to the North with a view of bringing about a dissolution of the Union, by stirring up Northern prejudices against the South upon the subject of Slavery. They were aware that the South, on this subject, was in the highest degree sensitive; and therefore would be apt to break out into open violence on the occasion of any impertinent interference on the part of the North. Her leading *object was the promotion of her interest by the*

destruction of ours : but more on this subject hereafter.

Here we have another instance of the "open and honest efforts of England to procure the abolition of Slavery throughout the world." Dr. Cartwright is a gentleman of eminent talent and strict integrity ; and would not, therefore, make any assertion which was not susceptible of proof. He states that the documents from which he drew the above facts were evidently not designed for the public eye, but for the private use of a Junta in London. He endeavored to get them published in London, but without success.

But what are the motives of England in so ardently desiring the abolition of Slavery in this country, in Texas, and in the West Indies? Is she governed by motives of philanthropy, or is there some mixture of selfishness? A statement of facts will throw some light on this subject.

The direction of her efforts to this continent alone, to the neglect of Slavery in Europe, Asia, and Africa, where it exists in a form much more severe than any thing known in this country, should alone excite our suspicions as to the purity of her motives. But when this is connected with an important end to be gained, by abolition on this continent, our suspicions as to the purity

of her motives, become positive certainties. The destruction of Southern prosperity on this continent would not, in reality promote the interest of England, but such seems to be the opinion of those that control her public affairs: hence the determined spirit of hostility in England against the interest and prosperity of this country.

There seems, of late, to have sprung up in England a spirit of irrepressible jealousy of the United States: the *London Times*, and other leading journals in the interest of the aristocracy, have poured out the vials of their wrath upon us of late, on account of Texas and Oregon. But I must now direct the attention of the reader to some facts bearing upon the case under consideration:

The emancipation of the British West India Slaves has resulted, in one particular, differently from what was anticipated. It has turned out to be not only a costly experiment, thus far, but threatens to be equally, if not more so, in future; for the whole of the fixed capital in those islands, stands upon the very brink of ruin.

I shall, on this subject, freely avail myself of the facts contained in a despatch from the Hon. John C. Calhoun to the Hon. William R. King, United States Minister at the Court of France.

dated, Washington, August 12th, 1844. Mr. C. acknowledges himself indebted for his facts and estimates, to Blackwood's Magazine, for April, 1844—an English periodical of the highest character.

9 In the first place, England paid \$100,000,000 to the owners of the emancipated Slaves, for their freedom. The increased price of sugar, and other tropical productions, as the result of the emancipation, it is estimated, has cost the English people fifty millions more—whilst it is estimated that one hundred millions have been expended in the suppression of the Slave Trade: making in the aggregate, \$250,000,000, as the result of the experiment. Her tropical productions have so greatly diminished in quantity since the emancipation, that instead of supplying herself and the rest of the world as formerly, she is scarcely able to supply herself with some of the most important articles.

“What is worse,” says Mr. Calhoun, “her own colonies are actually consuming sugar produced by Slave labor, brought direct to England, or refined in bond and exported and sold in her colonies as cheap or cheaper than they can be purchased there; while the Slave Trade, instead of diminishing, has been in fact, carried on to a greater extent than ever. So disastrous has been

the result, that, her fixed-capital vested in tropical possessions, estimated at the value of nearly five hundred millions of dollars, is said to stand on the brink of ruin."

But not only have the productions of the British possessions in the West Indies greatly fallen off, but other nations that still continue Slave labor in and near the tropics, have increased their productions to an enormous extent. There has been vested by them in tropical productions, it is estimated, since the year 1808, the sum of \$4,000,000,000 in fixed capital, wholly dependent on Slave labor. During the same period, the annual value of their products has risen it is estimated from \$72,000,000, to \$220,000,600. The amount of fixed capital vested by England in tropical productions during the same period amounts to the sum of \$830,000,000, whilst the annual value of her products has fallen to about \$50,000,000.

In the year 1842, the British East and West Indies and Mauritius, produced 3,993,771 cwt. of sugar, while Cuba, Brazil and the United States, excluding other countries having tropical possessions, produced 9,600,000 cwt. Of coffee, during the same year, the British possessions produced 27,393,008, while Cuba and Brazil produced 201,590, 125 lbs. Of cotton, the British possessions, including shipments to China, produced

only 137,443,446 lbs., while the United States, alone, produced 790,479, 275 lbs.

"This vast increase of capital and productions," continues Mr. Calhoun, "on the part of those nations who have continued their former policy towards the Negro race, compared with that of Great Britain, indicates a corresponding relative increase of the means of commerce, navigation, manufactures, wealth and power. It is no longer a question of doubt, that the great source of wealth, prosperity, and power of the more civilized nations of the temperate zone, (especially Europe, where the arts have made the greatest advance) depends, in a great degree, on the exchange of their products with those of the tropical regions. So great has been the advance made in the arts, both chemical and mechanical, within the few last generations, that all the old civilized nations can, with but a small part of their labor and capital, supply their respective wants; which tends to limit within narrow bounds the amount of commerce between them, and forces them all to seek for markets in the tropical regions, and the more newly settled portions of the globe. Those who can best succeed in commanding those markets, have the best prospect of outstripping the others in the career of commerce, navigation, manufactures, wealth and power."

Such being the state of things, it is a question of vast moment with the British statesmen, how shall they regain their control over the produce *of the tropical regions*? What plan shall be

adopted to save from ruin the vast capital vested by the English in tropical possessions? To accomplish these objects, two expedients have been adopted, or rather suggested—for but one of them has been reduced fully to practice: 1st. To increase the number of laborers in her own West India possessions, by encouraging the emigration of Negroes from Africa: and 2d. To bring about an abolition of Slavery in countries having tropical possessions—as, for instance, the United States, Texas, Spain, and Brazil.

In furtherance of the first object, viz: cheapening labor by increasing the number of laborers, Great Britain, in addition to a large number of Negroes brought over from Africa to the West Indies, has her eye likewise fixed upon Eastern and Central Africa, and upon her East India possessions. By the forty-fourth section of the English emancipation act, it is declared, that “It shall not extend to any of the territory in the possession of the East India Company, or the islands of Ceylon or St. Helena.” The whole of the English East India possessions are filled with Slaves, and the number is continually increasing. They are in a state of abject Slavery—are bought and sold as Slaves are in this country—and, altogether, *their condition is infinitely worse than that of our*

Slaves. Slaves in India are derived from a variety of sources, and belong to several classes: 1st The descendants of those who are taken prisoners in time of war. 2d. Persons kidnapped from the neighboring States. 3d. Persons born under circumstances so low as to be considered out of the pale of the ordinary castes. 4th. Persons smuggled in from Africa.

“Will it be believed that government itself participates in this description of property? that it actually holds possession of Slaves, and lets them out for hire to the cultivators of the country? The rent of a whole family being two fairs, or half a rupee (about three dollars and fifty cents, the hire of a Slave and his whole family) per annum.”*

But what is the course of England in reference to Slavery and the Slave Trade in the West Indies? It might be supposed after the expenditure of so much money to abolish Slavery in her West India possessions, that Slavery there had entirely ceased, and that the Slave Trade had been effectually suppressed. But any one arriving at this conclusion, is certainly laboring under a very gross mistake. *The Slave trade has actually been revived under a new form by the British Government itself, and Slavery has been established under a form more oppressive than that which was abolished.*

* Asiatic Journal for 1838—p. 221.

It is known to the reader that England and several other nations, keep a number of vessels on the coast of Africa in order to put an end to the Slave Trade. Vessels taken by the English cruisers with African Slaves on board, are taken into the English colony of Sierra Leone, and then condemned; the captors receiving seven pounds for every Slave taken. Formerly the Slaves thus liberated were kept at Sierra Leone, and for a short time allowed rations, being kept in the meantime under strict subordination. After a short time they were allowed a portion of ground, on which to make their own subsistence. But lately, since the English Government has seen fully the disastrous consequences of West India emancipation, the liberated Slaves have been induced, by various acts, to emigrate to the West Indies, there to be apprenticed to the planters for a term of fourteen years, in order to pay their passage. Black delegates are sent from the West Indies to Sierra Leone in order to enlist emigrants; and as the captives are not sufficiently numerous to supply the demand, those black delegates have purchased of the *head men* the right to enlist the Kroomen of the interior, for the West Indies. A distinguished member of the French Chamber, M. Barreyer, in a speech delivered by him a year

or two ago, stated that in June 1843, the English Government had issued an "order in council" authorizing the importation into Demarara, of *one hundred thousand* hired Negroes from Africa. And in confirmation of this, a French merchantman saw, in the river Gambia, an English vessel of five hundred tons, take in five hundred Africans for the English colonies. A remark is proper here. According to our navy regulations no vessel can take in more than two passengers for every five tons burthen of the vessel; in England they are allowed to take in three passengers for every five tons burthen. In the case above mentioned, one African was taken on for every ton of the vessel, though the rooms must have been previously occupied by the officers and crew. Nothing in the history of the Slave Trade can surpass this in point of cruelty.

When the Negroes reach the West Indies, they are apprenticed as before mentioned. Now what must be the result of this system? The Negro is bound as an apprenticed Slave during the better part of his life; in his old age, probably, he is thrown upon the world to earn his own subsistence, without the knowledge or the capacity to obtain a decent support. And the reasonable presumption *is, that he will be treated worse and worked harder*

than if he were the property of his master for life. No doubt, too, frauds will be practised upon the Negroes; some will be fraudulently kept in Slavery for life, for the Negro has no way of protecting his rights against the white man.

In the foregoing remarks, we have one of the means developed by which England is attempting to increase her tropical productions, and by that means still maintain her ascendancy in commerce, navigation, manufactures, wealth and power. But, as before noticed, she is attempting to accomplish the same end by other means—the abolition of Slavery in the United States, in Texas, in Cuba, and in Brazil. She very rightly thinks that the abolition of Slavery in the countries named, would so utterly ruin and cripple their prosperity, as to give her the ascendancy in all tropical productions. I have already commented at considerable length on this subject, and shall, therefore, devote but few additional words to its further consideration. The principles and policy of the British Government on the subject of Slavery have been already commented upon at some length. The Earl of Aberdeen, it will be recollected, declared that England desired to see Slavery abolished throughout the world, and that she was constantly exerting herself for that purpose. I noticed

the means by which England expected to effect abolition on this continent, and particularly noticed the efforts of Mr. Turnbull, the English Consul at Havana, to abolish Slavery on the Island of Cuba. I likewise noticed the means put in operation here and in Texas to effect an emancipation of our Slaves. All the facts and details bearing on the subject, leave no doubt as to the selfish policy of England. Humanity, no doubt, mingles in the motives that actuate her, but a desire to aggrandize self, constitutes the leading motive.

CHAPTER IX.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE POLICY OF ENGLAND, IN CONNEXION WITH THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

ENGLAND, it will be recollected, was among the first to begin the Slave Trade, and probably was more benefited by the traffic than any other nation. After the United States had abolished it, incorporating its abolition into the organic law of the nation, it was still continued by the English Government and people.

As early as the year 1562, Sir John Hawkins sailed for the West coast of Africa, and there procured several ship loads of Slaves, which he sold in the West India Islands. Queen Elizabeth was so much pleased with the result of this expedition, that she readily formed a copartnership with Hawkins, stipulating to share the future risks and profits of the trade. Chartered companies were subsequently formed to which were granted a monopoly of the trade; but so loud was the clamor against the injustice of these monopolies, that Parliament in 1697, was induced to pass an act granting to all the subjects of Great Britain the right to carry on this trade.

In the year 1689, England, in a treaty with Spain, stipulated to supply the Spanish colonies with Slaves. The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, article 12th., fixed the supply of Negroes at four thousand eight hundred annually, for thirty years. In the treaties of Aix la Chapelle and Madrid, England obtained an extension of this monopoly. In the year 1792, there were twenty-six acts of Parliament authorizing and favoring the Slave Trade. In the year 1797, England took possession of the then Dutch colonies of Demarara, Guiana and Berbice. On account of war these Islands had not been supplied with Slaves, but im-

mediately after the cessation of hostilities, they were sent in great numbers. According to the estimate of the *Edinburg Review*, they were sent to those colonies at the rate of fifty-seven thousand per annum, but Anderson, in his *History of Commerce*, estimates the annual supply at one hundred thousand. Most of the English colonies on the American continent earnestly and perseveringly protested against the Slave Trade, but England persisted regardless of all opposition.

The first opposition to the Slave Trade in England commenced about the year 1787 or '83. In 1792, Mr. Wilberforce moved in the English Parliament, the abolition of this trade, but his motion failed by a large majority. From this time until the year 1807, the subject was perseveringly discussed in Parliament; this year they succeeded in passing an act providing for the abolition of the trade. To accomplish this result, however, the opponents of the Slave Trade were compelled to change their ground of attack. At first they attacked the trade on the grounds of humanity and justice, but seeing that these arguments had no effect whatever on the rulers of the Kingdom, they abandoned these, and urged the ground of interest alone.

They urged that the English Colonies were

amply supplied with Slaves, whilst the Colonies of other nations were not—that these other nations, so soon as England abolished the trade, would be bound to follow her example—hence the scheme would greatly benefit the Agriculture, trade, navigation and manufactures of England. The scheme was carried through on the ground that it would secure the supremacy of England in the Agriculture and trade of the tropics, without the least regard to the motives of humanity and justice. As further evidence of the truth of this, the trade, during its discussion in the English Parliament, greatly increased. Take the island of Jamaica: in the year 1787, this island contained a black population of only 250,000, in twenty years thereafter, that is, in the year 1807, this population had increased to 400,000. It was likewise urged by the opponents of the Slave Trade, that if it were abolished, a more lucrative trade could be established with Africa. Presuming that other nations would be bound to follow her example in the abolition of the trade, she supposed that her superior manufacturing industry and skill would enable her to monopolize the whole of the African Trade. Spain, Portugal, and other nations engaged in the trade, commonly *made their purchases with such articles of manu-*

facture, as were calculated to please the fancy of the Negroes. Now England supposed that by inducing other nations to follow her example in abolishing the trade, she could readily monopolize the whole of this lucrative commerce. Mr. WHITBREAD said, that —

“The suppression of the Slave Trade was regarded in the British Parliament less as a question of humanity, than as an account of profit and loss, where the gold of England was balanced against African blood.”

In furtherance of her policy, England had no sooner abolished the Slave Trade in her own colonies, than she commenced a series of efforts to induce others to follow her example. Lord Lauderdale was despatched by Mr. Fox on this mission, to the Court of France, in the year 1807. The French Cabinet refused to listen to the proposition which was made by the English Government, and gave for reasons “that England was enabled to abolish the Slave Trade, because her colonies were abundantly supplied with blacks. That was not the case with the French colonies; and while it would cause no inconvenience to England, it would operate very disadvantageously to France.” After the peace of 1814, England redoubled her efforts to induce others to abolish *the Slave Trade*; she was fearful that those colo-

nations which had not supplied themselves with Slaves during the war, would avail themselves of the then existing peace in order to get a full supply.

England was fearful that if other nations continued the Slave Trade after it was abolished by her, that they would be enabled to outstrip her in the supply of tropical productions, and in navigation, commerce, and manufactures. Hence Lord CASTLEREAGH, in a confidential communication to the Duke of Wellington, asks :

“How England will be able to succeed in wresting from the colonies of other nations the advantage they derive from the possibility of carrying on the Slave Trade ?”

England applied to Ferdinand, King of Spain, to induce him to abolish the Slave Trade, but he refused to listen to the proposition. But when the subject was brought before the Congress of Vienna, the English Minister, Lord Castlereagh, after four successive sittings, obtained the declaration of all the powers represented in the Congress, that they would abolish the trade. This was on the 8th of February 1815, but notwithstanding this unanimous and positive declaration of principle, there was no immediate practical result.

France agreed to abolish the Slave Trade on the third of July, 1815—and Spain, in the treat-

ty of Madrid, September 23d, 1817, agreed—~~for~~, and in consideration of the sum of £400,000 sterling, to abolish the Slave Trade immediately, north of the equator; and after the thirtieth of September, 1820, to abolish it altogether.

I will here introduce the language of Mr. WILBERFORCE himself, in reference to the motives of England, in this treaty with Spain. Mr. WILBERFORCE declared on the 7th of February, 1818:

“That the pecuniary sacrifice would be greatly compensated by the commercial advantages England would derive from the treaty.” “That Spain, ceasing to carry merchandise to the coast of Africa in exchange for Slaves, England would take her place, and distribute the products of her manufactures from the Senegal to the Niger, over an immense extent of territory.”

Lord PALMERSTON likewise remarked:

“That the abolition of the Slave Trade had served to develope the commerce and navy of England.”

I might, were it necessary, introduce a great variety of other testimonies to prove the selfish policy of England in connexion with the Slave Trade; but having said what is deemed sufficient on this subject, I shall proceed to make a few remarks on the Right of Search. So much of late has been said on this subject, that I deem it prop-

er to say but little about it ; though, as the selfish policy of Great Britain was never more manifest than in her action on this subject, it is deemed proper to call the attention of the reader to it for a short time.

Notwithstanding the existence of various treaties establishing the liberty of the seas, and the rights of neutrals, the British Government, on the 8th of June 1793, issued an order in council to all her naval commanders to stop all vessels bound to France, or any of its dependencies, whether wholly or only in part laden with grain. A proposition was made to the King of Denmark to permit the English to search Danish vessels suspected of being laden with grain for France ; but this proposition was peremptorily refused by Count Bernstorff, minister of the King of Denmark. In the year 1800, Mr. MERRY, charge d'affaires from Great Britain to the Court of Denmark, presented the following note, viz :

“The search and examination of merchant vessels at sea, of whatever nation, without reference to cargo or destination, is assumed by Great Britain to be an incontestible right belonging to all nations at war.”

The assertion of this principle by the English Government led to the formation of the Northern Alliance, by which Russia, Prussia, and Sweden

uniting with Denmark; determined to resist such an unjust pretension. They armed themselves, and prepared to defend their rights; but England nevertheless still maintained the principle for which she had contended. I will here give the reply of the Prussian minister to Lord Carysfort, on this subject. He said:

“That the British Government had arrogated to itself, in the present war, the supremacy of the seas; and in forming for itself a naval code which it would be impossible to conciliate with the rights of man: would exercise over other nations—friends or neutrals—a usurped jurisdiction, the legitimacy of which it sustains, and wishes to palm upon us an imprescriptible right. Hence it is not surprising, that, after so many multiplied vexations, the neutral powers should have conceived the design of seeking a remedy against it: and, in this view, to fix upon a concert of action, in order to establish their rights, and put them in a situation to maintain them against belligerent powers.”

The death of Paul, Emperor of Russia, led to the dissolution of the armed neutrality. The sovereign that succeeded him being friendly to England, backed out from the Northern Alliance, and formed a treaty with England, yielding the principle for which the latter had contended. The other northern powers were deeply chagrined at

this step on the part of Russia ; but being wholly unable to help themselves, they were compelled finally to yield. After this, England committed acts, both towards France and the neutral powers, unequalled in atrocity in the history of the world.

France retaliated, by issuing the Berlin and Milan decrees. These opened the eyes of the different nations of the world, and in 1807, Russia recalled the principles invoked by Catharine in 1780. But England had succeeded in drawing almost all the European powers into the support of her principles : in fact, the United States was left alone to contend for the rights of nations on the seas ; and they did contend manfully—maintaining then the same principles for which we have so successfully contended of late. We always have, and always will contend for our rights upon the seas. We deny in toto the right of belligerents to search the vessels of neutrals ; and we are unwilling to grant by treaty, or otherwise, the right to any nation to visit or search our vessels at sea.

The peace of 1814, of course, put an end to the right of search, as it was only claimed, in the absence of treaties stipulating it, as a right belonging to belligerents. But England, having

seen the advantages resulting from the admission of this principle, sought, immediately after peace, the formation of treaties with different nations, allowing the mutual right of search, under the pretext of suppressing the Slave Trade. A proposition to this effect was made to France through the Duke of Wellington, but was promptly rejected. Another proposition was made of a similar kind, by Lord Castlereagh to Prince Talleyrand, at the Congress of Vienna. The Prince replied in the name of France—"That he would never admit any other police of the seas than that which each nation exercised over its own vessels." England was more fortunate with Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands; for in the year 1817, all three of these powers entered into treaties with England, granting the right of search, under the very plausible pretext of putting a stop to the Slave Trade.

The English minister, Lord Castlereagh, was so well pleased with the result of his negotiations, that very early in the year 1818, he assembled the representatives of all the maritime powers, and requested them to transmit to their respective courts a proposition to form a treaty allowing the mutual right of search, with a view of putting a stop to the Slave Trade. France, as before, re-

jected the proposition. The Duke of Richelieu remarks :

“That the offer of reciprocity was illusory ; and the unavoidable conflicts to which the exercise of the right of search must give rise, would have a tendency to disturb the harmony then existing between the two governments.”

Repeated efforts were made by England to induce France to enter into arrangements with the other powers, to put a stop to the Slave Trade, but all efforts were unavailing. France still continued to reject all propositions to this effect. But after the revolution of 1830, which placed Louis Philippe on the French throne, France found herself unable any longer to resist the persevering efforts of England to form a treaty allowing the mutual right of search. Accordingly, the treaties of September 30th, 1831, and of 1833, were ratified. By these treaties, France bound herself to the Netherlands, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, to allow the mutual right of search, in order to put a stop to the Slave Trade.

On the 15th of July, 1840, another treaty was entered into by the several powers above named, with the exception of France, with a view of more effectually suppressing the Slave Trade, as it had increased in spite of every effort to suppress

it. M. Guizot, the French minister, signed the treaty, but the Chamber refused to ratify it, and this action of the Chamber was found to agree with the voice of the nation—public sentiment—which we are happy to find becoming omnipotent in France, as it is in the United States. The United States, as before, refused to enter into any alliance allowing the right of search. That England has been governed throughout in this matter by ambitious and selfish motives, is perfectly manifest from the acknowledgements of her public men, the repeated declarations of the French Government, and all other facts connected with the case:

England is aware that all efforts to suppress the Slave Trade have proved, and are likely to continue to prove, utterly unavailing; and it is known to her, too, that these efforts have greatly increased the mortality of the middle passage. The number of Africans imported to the West Indies and America, in the year 1787, was estimated to be forty-five thousand; and the mortality of the middle passage was estimated at only five per cent., now admitted not to have exceeded nine per cent. In the year 1840, it was declared by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, that the number of Africans sold into Slavery on the continent,

and in the West Indies, amounts to at least one hundred and fifty thousand souls: and this, too, in the face of all opposition—the Slave Trade being abolished by all nations—declared piracy by several, if not all of them.—and when a perfect fleet of vessels is kept on the ocean with the express view of putting an end to it.”* And in addition to all this, the mortality of the middle passage, in consequence of the efforts made to suppress the trade, has increased to twenty-five or thirty per cent.

Now in view of these results what but madness can induce a continuance of the present efforts? If England had no sinister design in view, she certainly would not persist in a course, the direct tendency of which is, to quadruple the very horrors which she seems desirous of mitigating.

The truth is, no reasonable doubt, can now remain as to the motives of England in reference to the abolition of the Slave Trade—the establishment of the right of search in time of peace—and the abolition of Slavery in the West Indies. She has been governed throughout, by a single desire, to promote her own power and greatness, and to cripple the influence and power of others.

* J. H. Hammond's Letter to Thos. Clarkson, pp. 4, 5.

The gigantic strides of the United States to power and greatness have aroused all the jealousy of the British nation against us. At this time, we constitute the special objects of her attention: scarcely a mail now comes across the Atlantic that does not bring the anathemas of the English press against us. The annexation of Texas, and our claim to Oregon, constitute the pretexts for this tirade of abuse. According to the English organs, the world has never witnessed any thing equal in atrocity, to our conduct in annexing Texas to this Union, overlooking almost every page of English history for the last seventy years. Even at this time, without any pretext but a desire for self aggrandizement, she contemplates adding the rich province of the Punjaub to her already boundless possessions in the East.

CHAPTER X.

EMANCIPATION.

THE opponents of Slavery at the North, advocate an immediate and unconditional emancipation

of all Slaves, throughout the length and breadth of the Slaveholding States of this Union. They expect to accomplish this object in the District of Columbia through the agency of Congress, and in the States, through the agency of the State Legislatures. This action of Congress, and of the several State Legislatures is to be effected by means of a change of sentiment on the part of the American people on the subject of Slavery, induced by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, both in the Slaveholding, and in the non-slaveholding States of the Union.

I wish to call the attention of the public to this subject, beginning with the power of Congress over Slavery in the District of Columbia. The advocates of abolition claim the power under that clause of the Constitution that confers upon Congress "exclusive legislation in all cases," in the District of Columbia.

Mr. Van Buren, even, believes that Congress can abolish Slavery in the District, though he differs widely from the Abolitionists as to the expediency of doing so; he thinks that the obligations resting upon the several States of the Union, not to interfere with Slavery in the District of Columbia, are as imperative as if they were express constitutional prohibitions on the subject, and as

an evidence of the sincerity of this opinion, he promised to veto any law interfering with Slavery, either in the States, or in the District of Columbia.

But let us see whether Congress has the power to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. It certainly has exclusive legislative power in the District, but did it never occur to the advocates of emancipation, that legislative bodies cannot do all things? Because Congress has exclusive power to pass laws for the benefit of the District, it has no right to say that the throats of all the inhabitants shall be cut, their houses burned down, or their property confiscated. There are bounds to legislative action which cannot be passed without the free consent of the people, to be effected by the legislation. No legislative body has the right to take the property of the people without their consent, and appropriate it to their own use, or to confiscate it, or to do any thing with it, except to pass laws for its protection, unless the exigencies of the State in time of war require it.

Now, as Negroes are recognized as property by the constitution and laws of the United States, Congress certainly can have no power without the consent of the Slave owners to abolish Slavery *in the District of Columbia*. With this con-

sent, I confess that Congress would have the constitutional power, but the moral right would not exist even in that event.

When the constitution of the United States was framed, the subject of Slavery presented many difficulties, but finally the whole matter was adjusted, very much to the satisfaction of all parties. The constitution contains an express provision for the recovery of Slaves that may escape from their Masters, and flee to other States, whether Slaveholding, or non-slaveholding. Three-fifths of our Slaves are represented in the Congress of the United States; and the whole frame-work of the constitution embraces protection to the South in this important particular. Upon no other terms would the South have consented to the constitution at all. There is not a single Slave State that would have consented to enter the Union upon any other terms, than those of ample protection to Southern interests. Nor would Virginia and Maryland ever have consented to the cession of the District of Columbia, if they had for a moment supposed that their rights and interests would have been thereby affected.

Under all these circumstances, the obligations of Congress, not to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, even supposing the power to exist,

the effects of a similar excitement upon the white race. As has been before remarked, the Negro and the white man differ widely in this particular; the Negro, in his whole constitution of body and mind is adapted to Slavery; he is satisfied with that condition and desires no other. The white man, on the contrary, neither in body or mind, is adapted to this condition; when enslaved, he is ever restless and unhappy, and never fails to avail himself of the first chance to effect his escape.

What has been the result of the abolition excitement upon the white population at the South? I shall here be compelled to differ with my friends, I am fully satisfied that discussion has tended to strengthen the institution rather than otherwise. When this discussion first commenced years ago, scarcely a man could be found in the Union who had the boldness to advocate Slavery as an abstract right. Slavery was defended simply upon the ground of expediency, and hence all parties agreed, that it should be abolished just as soon as it could be effected. So strong in fact, was the anti-slavery feeling at the South, that the State of Virginia, the largest Slave State in the Union, came within a few votes of abolishing it. I well recollect the sensation created by the publication of Professor Dew's work on Slavery, some fifteen

years since. The abolition excitement was just then beginning at the the North, and the South had no arguments to meet them; they had never pretended to defend Slavery in the abstract, hence they were taken all aback by the arguments of their opponents. But Professor Dew's work opened the eyes of the South upon the subject; he advocated Slavery upon the ground of abstract right, and thus we were prepared with arguments to meet our opponents.

Since that time we have had various able publications on the subject; many sermons and lectures, which have greatly enlightened the public mind on this institution. But they have not, as I humbly conceive, presented the full strength of the argument in favor of Slavery, and the present work is a feeble attempt to supply the deficiency.

As the public mind has been enlightened, men have become more and more convinced of the indispensable necessity of Slavery in the present state of the world. *As has been before remarked, practical Slavery does, and must necessarily exist in all countries. The laws may abolish the institution, but the necessities of existence will force Slavery upon all the poorest classes of society.* This is the fact in England, and in nearly all other countries where theoretical Slavery does not exist. X

The state of the world must greatly change before Slavery can in reality be abolished; the means of living must be within the reach of all classes, without the necessity of any considerable degree of hard drudgery. In a word, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and machinery of all kinds must so improve, that men, without any considerable toil, can supply all things needful for their comfort and happiness. So long as there is rough work to do, there must be rough hands to do it, and these rough hands will never be applied to such purposes, unless they are driven to it by necessity or by authority.

Discussion has likewise led the public to the conclusion, that Slavery is an institution of Heaven, that it was expressly authorized and established by Jehovah himself under the Jewish dispensation, and was sanctioned under the Christian. They are convinced further that it is an institution from which a thousand blessings flow, embracing the Negro, the white man at the South, the country generally, and the world. Hence I think, we are justified in the conclusion that agitation has been beneficial to the country rather than otherwise; it has strengthened, instead of weakening the institution. Such being the result of discussion, the prospect of abolition is now more dis-

tant than ever. In fact, the abolition of Slavery can never be effected in any community, until Slavery has ceased to be beneficial to all parties; until it wears out. Or, as it has been expressed, "until it falls into decay." Slavery fell into decay in England, and was in consequence abolished, and it also fell into decay in our Northern States, and was likewise abolished. There is, however, an illusion connected with the abolition of Slavery in the Northern States, to which it may be as well to allude. Our Northern friends take great credit to themselves for abolishing Slavery as though they had accomplished some wonderful work. But is it true that they practically abolished Slavery? It is true, that most of the old States at the North passed laws abolishing Slavery, but when the time arrived for those laws to take effect there was no Slavery to abolish. Persons owning Slaves, with but few exceptions, just as soon as the agitation of the subject commenced, sent them off to the South and sold them—hence, as DE TOCQUEVILLE has very justly said, "though the Northern States have passed laws abolishing Slavery, no actual abolition has taken place."

Another fact in connection with Negro Slavery at the North is, that it could never be made profitable there. It was very early ascertained that

the climate was not adapted to the constitution of the Negro—hence one of the causes of the great mortality among the blacks at the North. Nor is the North adapted to the growth of those products, in the cultivation of which Slave labor is most profitable. From this it appears that our Northern friends are entitled to no particular credit for abolishing Slavery; they almost invariably sold their Negroes, before the law could take effect which they had passed abolishing Slavery.

But let us now proceed to other considerations: there are obstacles to abolition not yet mentioned. Even if our abolition friends could convince us that Slavery was an evil that we should get clear of as soon as possible, there would still be several insuperable obstacles to abolition. Our Slave population at this time numbers about three millions of souls, estimated to be worth one thousand millions of dollars. This is a vast amount of property, which no five millions of people in the world will voluntarily give up for the sake of conscience. But as large as this amount is, it is only one item: the depreciation in value of our land, and other property, as the result of abolition, would equal the value of the Negroes—that is, one thousand millions of dollars.

In a word, the abolition of Slavery at the

South, would impoverish every Slave State in the Union, with probably one or two exceptions; and the result would not be much different in the non-slaveholding States. The South furnishes the raw material to the North, for most of their manufactures, and likewise their only customers. England, France—in fact, the whole world, would feel the shock of abolition. As strange as may seem the assertion, it is nevertheless true, that most of the navigation, commerce, manufactures, wealth, and power of the civilized nations of the world are dependent on the Slave labor of this, and a few other countries. Abolish Slavery, and you throw back society into a state of barbarism—you dry up its resources—the means of its prosperity—and check civilization for centuries to come. Without wealth, there can be no civilization—no refinement—no progress: and this wealth is dependent on the Slave labor in southern countries.

But let us suppose all difficulties overcome, and Slavery abolished throughout the South. I will for a moment trace the consequences of such a step. I will assume a fact which I presume none will deny: that the Slaves, if emancipated, would have to remain on this continent, and among the whites; as it would be utterly impos-

sible to remove them. The Negroes would be too poor to remove themselves, even if they were disposed to leave ; and the whites, impoverished, as they would be, could not help them. Such being the fact, I will now proceed to state some of the consequences of abolition.

One of the most obvious of these consequences would be, an increase of distance between the two races. Nature has marked broad lines of distinction between them, which will ever, in this country at least, keep them widely separated, and it must be acknowledged that this is a wise and salutary provision of nature, to keep the two races distinct and separate. It is a principle similar to that which separates the different races of animals, but operating, of course, with less intensity. This principle of repulsion, whilst operating with sufficient force to keep the two races separate in the Slaveholding States, does not proceed to that violent extent that it does at the North. At the North, bitter and deep-rooted prejudices exist against the colored race : whilst there is a legal equality, there is the most striking practical inequality, in all the departments of life. The two races are kept apart in every relation of life.

A man, then, who would even temporarily put

himself upon an equality with the Negroes, would be forever disgraced.

At the South, the black race stands much nearer the white, than at the North. The white man knows that the Negro is not, and never can be his equal, nor even desires to be. There is not, then, between the two races, that spirit of jealousy and rivalry that exists at the North. An acknowledged inferior is always treated with more respect and kindness in his subordinate, dependent position, than when he aspires to an equality. In the former relation, a kindly paternal feeling is engendered, which operates as a protection to the inferior: when, on the contrary, the inferior aspires to an equality, this kindly, paternal feeling gives way to a feeling of repulsive hate and jealousy. This accounts for the greater distance between the two races North, than at the South.

Should Slavery be abolished among us, this repulsive feeling will be engendered to an alarming extent, that will endanger, at least temporarily, the peace and good order of society. It will be carried to an extent much beyond what it is at the North, on account of the very near equality of numbers between the two races at the South. The black race at the North may stand a degree of neglect, contempt, and hatred, which the same

race at the South, if free, would resent with indignation: for I take it for granted, that no people in the world can be found, that would submit quietly to be maltreated, if they had the power to redress their grievances. The blacks at the North are too few in numbers to resist: they have in consequence, with but few exceptions, submitted quietly to all the indignities which have been heaped upon them. It would be far otherwise at the South, where the two races are nearly equal in numbers: hence maltreatment of the black race would be met with resistance, and a state of turmoil and strife, the consequences of which could not be foreseen, would invariably ensue. Riots, murders, mobs, pillage, and general discontentment and alarm, would be the order of the day. A strong military force, kept up at enormous expense, would be necessary to preserve the public peace.

The Negroes might even attempt the general destruction of the white race. Being free, they could act in concert from one end of the country to the other: and though I do not believe that success would crown their efforts, they might, nevertheless, do much mischief, before their *course* could be arrested. There would exist at *all times*, even in the absence of civil strife, a

general feeling of disquietude throughout the country. At present there is a feeling of the most perfect security throughout the South: we know our Negroes, and feel perfectly satisfied that there is scarcely the shadow of a reason to apprehend insurrection. Through the long period of our history, there have been fewer disturbances of the public peace on the part of the Negroes, than from the working classes of any other country in the world. Riot after riot has occurred at the North, and in England, France, and other countries; whilst at the South, with but few unimportant exceptions, the most perfect harmony and good order has been preserved. We have had two or three partial insurrections, in which a few white persons have been killed, and these constitute all the difficulties which we have had with our Negroes, throughout the long period of our history.

But other evils would follow emancipation, one of which is *idleness*, on the part of the blacks. It is estimated that the black population of the world amounts to about one hundred millions of souls: of this number about sixty millions are in Africa, and forty millions in other countries. Now of all this large population, these cannot be found a single nation, or tribe, in the possession of freedom, that are industrious, economical and thrifty.

and this is not only the case now, but it has always been so. The Africans have existed in their own country as a separate people for thousands of years past, yet not a step have they taken in civilization—not the slightest advance have they made in agricultural, mechanical, or manufacturing industry. The Negro in Africa is as ignorant as he was thousands of years ago. Other nations have advanced in a wonderful manner, even in their immediate vicinity; but still they have remained stationary; showing, in the most conclusive manner, their inferiority to the Caucasian. If there was not a radical inferiority on the part of the blacks, there certainly would have been some evidence to the contrary, in the long period of near four thousand years.

In the island of St. Domingo, where the Negroes have been for fifty-odd years, there has been a constant decline in every branch of industry. The quantity of sugar exported from the island, before the Negroes gained their independence, amounted to 163,000,000 lbs. annually. The quantity now exported, after fifty-five years of freedom, is scarcely worth naming: it has dwindled down almost to nothing. The same is true, but not quite to the same extent, with coffee: in a word, every branch of industry has declined

to an enormous extent : the decline, it is estimated, is as one hundred and fifty compared to fifteen.

As an evidence of the idleness of the Negroes in St. Domingo, and the vices to which idleness necessarily leads, I take the following from the Westminster Review, for October, 1842. The account was written by an eye-witness of the scene :

“On the very night of the earthquake, the cannaille of the town began thieving on a small scale, but it was on the third day that the sack and plunder commenced *en grand*. On that day the country people flocked in, and for eight or ten successive days it was one continued scene of open, undisguised, sword-in-hand pillage. No town given up to a victorious army, was ever so thoroughly gutted. The merchant's stores on the Bord de la Mer were the most especial objects of spoliation.

Every man was armed, and bloody fights were of common occurrence, over the division of the spoil, or when a stronger party attempted to wrest the booty from a weaker. Not the slightest effort was made by the authorities to keep order. The great hardship is, that soldiers and officers, who should have been our protectors, vied with each other in the unholy work of robbing the wounded and the dying. No foreigner, but at the imminent risk of his life, could have put a foot on the ruins of his house, to save even a change of clothes : to attempt such a thing would have been extreme fool-hardiness. The robbers killed each other in

and before the stores for a piece of cotton check. What, then, could an owner of property and a foreigner expect, if he dared to interfere with them?"*

Here we have a picture of a population, starting fifty-five years ago in the race of freedom, under highly favorable circumstances. They had acquired habits of industry, and learned to some extent the arts of life, when in a state of Slavery; but no sooner did they commence their career of freedom, than they commenced a rapid decline. Becoming idle, vicious, and utterly reckless, they soon abandoned their fields, their workshops, and all other branches of regular industry.

The Negroes have not done better in the British West India Islands, where emancipation has been of more recent date. The Negroes have already become idle and vicious to an extent that

* HARRIS.—The condition of this Negro republic is beginning to attract attention in England. The wars between the blacks and the Mulattoes are ferocious and exterminating. The London Times says:

"Military movements, fears, and general agitation, are fast completing the ruin of the order, such as it was, that existed under Boyer: agriculture and business are almost suspended; sugar is even imported for consumption into this island that might supply the world. The intervention of some powerful nation is imperiously called for to mediate between the colors. The independence of the east should be acknowledged, when each party might range itself under its own color, as the present state of things will cause it to retrograde into worse than African barbarism."

threatens the utter ruin of those fine islands. This subject has been already mentioned, but I feel bound to make the following extract, which is taken from a highly respectable and authentic source. The *Jamaica Despatch*, of January 18th, 1842, respecting the island of Jamaica, says :

“It is our painful duty to apprise our British readers, that the calamities to which the inhabitants of this unfortunate colony have recently been subjected, are not yet brought to an end ; but that the unavoidable visitation of Heaven, which we hoped would chasten and subdue unruly spirits, has been followed up by acts of turbulence and popular outrage, concluded by alarming incendiary attempts. This will prove to the government and people of Great Britain, the jeopardy in which the peace and property of the Jamaica colonists have been placed by the *unlicensed* liberty which has been preached and claimed for the newly emancipated people, who consider themselves not only free to neglect work, but to riot and revel in defiance of the law, and to break the peace of the city at pleasure.”

Other more recent accounts place beyond all doubt the failure of the British West India scheme of emancipation. The hundred millions of dollars which the British people have been taxed to pay for the emancipation of the Negroes in the British West India Islands, has been worse than thrown away. It has destroyed the prosperity of

the finest and most productive islands in the world —ruined the Negroes themselves, and impoverished their former Masters.

But I have some facts in reference to the free Negroes in the United States. The State of Virginia contains a free black population of about fifty thousand souls. The State is large, and contains an abundance of cheap land, which might be purchased and owned by any one possessing ordinary industry and economy; yet of the fifty thousand free blacks, only about two hundred own land. Here we have a remarkable and most striking example of a want of care and industry on the part of the Negroes, when left to themselves. Most generally, when free, they collect about the towns and villages, and engage in the various menial offices: such as blacking shoes, and other offices of a like nature. They dissipate, spend much of their time in idleness, and seem to be utterly destitute of all foresight and care in reference to the future.

The condition of the free blacks in other parts of the Union, is no better than it is in the State of Virginia;—in the Northern States it is worse; they are poorer, more wretched, and in every respect in a worse situation than they are in Virginia and other Slaveholding States.

But there are other consequences which would flow from emancipation, to which I will now invite the attention of the reader. Emancipation would not only lead to idleness on the part of the blacks, but would be the source of an incalculable amount of crime, disease, and misery of every kind.

I have already made quotations from authentic sources, showing the vast amount of crime in St. Domingo, and in the British West India Islands, among the emancipated Negroes. I have likewise, in a previous part of this work, noticed the moral and the social condition of the free Blacks at the North; additional remarks will, therefore, be unnecessary; at least, to any considerable extent, on these subjects. The following extract is from the work of the Rev Dr. BASCOM, on the subject of the Methodist controversy.—p. 57.

“The effects of emancipation and the condition of free Negroes in the United States, are matters too well known to require proof or illustration with the well-informed. In Massachusetts, only one seventy-fourth part of the entire population is African, and yet one-sixth of all their convicts are Negroes. In Connecticut, one thirty-fourth are Negroes, furnishing one-third of all the convicts. In New York, one-thirty-fifth, and one fourth of *the convicts in the city prisons* are free Negroes.

In New Jersey, one-thirteenth, furnishing one-third of all the prisoners. In Pennsylvania, one thirty-fourth, and over one-third of all the convicts Negroes. One-fourth of the whole expense connected with the prison system of the entire North, is incurred by crime committed by one-twentieth part of the population. The same is true with regard to the pauper expenditures of all the Northern States. Facts of this kind can never become so stale, as not to be startling."

On the 30th of September 1842, there were in the Virginia Penitentiary, 76 colored convicts and 129 white. The colored convicts were furnished from a free black population of 49,842, and the 129 whites, from a white population of 740,968. If the white population had been as vicious as the black, the number of white convicts in the Penitentiary ought to have been 1,127, instead of 127.

I have already noticed at some length the physical condition of the free blacks at the North. It is found from the census of 1840, that the number of deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and idiots, among the free Negroes at the North, are greatly more numerous, in proportion to population, than among the Slaves at the South. The black population in the Slave States in the year 1840, was 2,788,573; containing 1,737 insane and idiots, being one in 1,605.

In the free States and Territories, the number of free blacks in 1840 was 170,720, containing 1,189 insane and idiots, being one in every 143. This shows a vast difference, which must be accounted for in part upon the ground, that the Negro when free, indulges a wild excess of vice, which is totally incompatible with his physical well being. The Negro is not now, and probably never will be fit for freedom; he cannot govern, and take care of himself, and in consequence, freedom is the greatest curse that could be inflicted upon him. The question, whether the Negro will ever be prepared for freedom may be somewhat difficult to decide. One thing at least is certain — he has never yet been prepared, though he has been known as a distinct people for nearly four thousand years past. At any rate, one thing is true, that whether he is ever prepared for freedom or not, any sudden emancipation cannot be otherwise than the source of unmixed evil. If Slavery is ever to cease in the world, it must be by a gradual *decay*, in its operation almost imperceptible.

But I am somewhat diverging from the subject: there is one other consequence that would flow from emancipation, to which I wish to invite the attention of the reader for a few moments. This

the belief of many well informed persons that the emancipation of our Negroes would lead to the destruction of the white population at the South, and the occupation of the whole country by the blacks. This proceeds upon the supposition that the black population would still continue to increase as at present, which is in a ratio greater than that of the white. Mr. Casey estimates the increase of the black population in the States of Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, for forty years, that is from 1790 to 1830, at the rate of one hundred and twelve compared to one hundred, whilst the white population in the same States, during the same period, has increased only in the proportion of eighty as compared to one hundred.

But there is no reason to apprehend that the black population, if emancipated, would increase as at present; the fact would be far otherwise: the ultimate *extinction* of the black race would be inevitable. The history of the world establishes one fact beyond all controversy, viz: *that two races differing in civilization, and possessing strongly marked physical, intellectual and moral peculiarities, cannot exist together and flourish on the same continent, unless the inferior race is in a state of Slavery.* The superior race, by their superior

energy, industry and skill will monopolize the means of living ; will get a controlling influence in all the affairs of the country, and the inferior race will decline in virtue, become idle, profligate and vicious, and will in consequence contract diseases which will soon lead to a decline, and to a final extinction of the race. Whenever the Indian race has come in contact with the white, they have melted away like snow before the sun. The once powerful race of savages on this continent, have dwindled to a handful, and not many ages will have passed away before every vestige of the Indian race will have disappeared from our country. Many tribes have disappeared altogether ; it is estimated that there were four hundred different tribes on the continent of America a few centuries ago, there cannot now be a tenth of that number.

The present condition of the Sandwich Islands furnishes a most instructive example. These Islands have been the scene of Missionary labors for a great number of years ; great efforts have been made to improve the condition of the natives ; schools have been established, and a number of whites from the United States and other countries, have devoted their lives to the teaching of the native population. Yet, notwithstanding

all this, we have the following picture of their condition from the pen of Dr. CHAPIN, who resided three years and a half on the Islands as a Missionary, and who certainly has no motive for making incorrect statements on the subject.

“POPULATION.—When Capt. Cook visited the Sandwich Islands in 1779, the population was estimated, and probably with correctness, at 400,000. According to a late census there are now about 135,000, making a decrease of 270,000 in the space of fifty-seven years; and it is computed by the Rev. W. T. Alexander, one of the Missionaries, who has with considerable pains, ascertained the births and deaths of a large section, that there are annually 6,838 deaths and 3,335 births on the group, making more than twice as many deaths as births. If this be correct, it will not seem incredible, that the population should have so greatly diminished, and that too in so short a period. And it will further appear that not many years will be required at this rate to depopulate the Islands of the native inhabitants.”

The author continues :

“Capt. Cook found the Sandwich Islanders living like all savage people, in habits of the greatest simplicity, seeking only the supply of their necessary wants, and in a climate requiring so little clothing, and with a soil producing spontaneously so many of their articles of consumption, *that but little* labor was requisite to satisfy every *desire*. They were then unacquainted with the

infinite multitude of unnatural wants and practices which deteriorate mankind in all civilized lands. They were a hardy and athletic people. The process of alcoholic fermentation was indeed well understood by them, and they could make intoxicating drinks from a variety of vegetables, but they had not used them in such quantities and so frequently as to make drunkards of themselves. The reason of this devastation must then be looked for on the catalogue of changes and innovations introduced from abroad; and to the influence of visitors from enlightened and civilized countries, chiefly from England and the United States, are to be attributed the great alteration in the native character, and this appalling diminution of their numbers. During the past fifty-seven years, the time since their first discovery, we ought, after making every allowance for losses by their wars, to find the population increased at least one-half. But instead of 600,000, there are now only 135,000, leaving an actual loss to the nation of 465,000 inhabitants, chargeable directly to the customs and vices carried there from other places."

I must beg leave to make another extract from this interesting article, which is replete with interesting detail and instruction. Among the causes which have led to the rapid decline of the native population of the Sandwich Islands, the author enumerates the following :

"The introduction of alcoholic liquors has produced its accustomed amount of wretchedness and

misery, and consigned great numbers to an untimely death.

"*The use of tobacco* has evidently a deleterious influence on the natives, whatever may be its effect on others. In smoking, the natives do not sit down deliberately and finish a pipe or cigar but take one or two whiffs, inhaling the full volume of smoke directly into the lungs, and retain it there as long as the breath can well be retained. Individuals have been killed by its effects, and how much disease may have been induced or accelerated thereby, remains to be ascertained.

"*The large quantities of foreign commodities* carried to the islands, and the increasing intercourse of the inhabitants with foreigners have created such an amount of new and superfluous wants as to destroy their native character, and to make of them an artificial and degenerate race.

"*The introduction of Christianity* within the last few years has created its usual benign influence; but the changes of every kind have nevertheless been great and rapid, and the people have fallen, and are continuing to fall under the effects of these changes; and their end may be read on the same page, which records the fate of the wandering tribes of America. Such must inevitably be the case, unless a kind Providence greatly bless those measures used for their present and future interest."*

The latest accounts from these islands, as well as from all the Pacific islands where the attempt

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has been made to civilize the nations, increase the assurance that the time is not distant when the native population will be entirely extinct. In the "Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842," by Charles Wilkes, U. S. N. commander of the Expedition, we are informed that in all the islands of the Pacific, where efforts have been made to civilize the natives, a rapid decline in population has taken place. In some places it was ascertained even in the best districts on the islands, and where missionary labors had been most successful, that the number of deaths to births was as three to one. In some places the disproportion was as ten to one ; and this, too, in the absence of any epidemic disease, and where infanticide had not been committed for ten years. The native population of the West Indies is completely extinct : not a vestige now remains of their former existence ; and there is now but little doubt but that in the course of one or two centuries, the vast population of the East Indies will be extinct.

But the census of 1840 exhibits a decline in the black population of most of the Northern States. From 1810 to 1820 the decline in New-Hampshire was 18-9 per cent. In Vermont it was 26-4 per cent. From 1820 to 1830 the de-

cline in Vermont was 2-4 per cent. In New-Hampshire, 23-1 per cent. From 1830 to 1840, the decline in Vermont was 17-1 per cent. In New-Hampshire, it was 11 per cent. In some few of the States, there has been a slight increase, but this is no doubt owing to run-away Slaves from the South. In proof of this, I take from the *Virginian*, of January the 10th, 1843, the following, derived from the Annual Report of the Vigilance Committee of Abolitionists at Albany :

“ They state that they have added about three hundred and fifty run-away Negroes since the opening of navigation last spring. Of these fugitives about one hundred and fifty were men, one hundred and fifty women, and fifty children.”

From all the facts given above, there is but little doubt but that emancipation would prove the ultimate destruction of the black race at the South: there is no reason to suppose that they would be exempt from the law of destruction, which has operated among other of the lower grades of mankind.

I have already proved beyond all doubt or cavil that idleness, vice, and disease, with all their attendant consequences, would result from emancipation. Such being the fact, a decline in numbers would be the inevitable result. I have but *little hope* that the black, or the Indian race, will

ever be civilized to any great extent: *they are radically inferior, and of course can never rise above the fixed law of their being.* The extinction of the Indian race is certain; and should the Negro ever escape from the condition of Slavery in this country, and should the white man ever fix himself firmly on the continent of Africa, the extinction of the Negro race will be equally certain.

And why should we lament such an event? The extinction of a tribe, or even a whole people, is not more to be lamented than the extinction of one generation to make room for another. God, in his dealings with men, has more regard to universal *humanity*, than to the well-being of any particular tribe, nation, or people. Individuals, nations, and tribes perish, but the race is preserved, humanity is elevated and improved. Our pride cannot brook the idea of the total extinction of a whole nation, tribe, or race of men: it whispers that our own race may, at some future time, give way to another, and a more powerful people. But God cares nothing for the pride of man: he executes his purposes regardless of the whims and caprices of men, and does that which promotes the highest good of universal humanity.

The world has in reality been repeatedly peopled—wave after wave of population has passed

over its surface, each successive wave displacing the one that preceded. If it were otherwise, the world in a short time would not be large enough to contain the population : still the number of inhabitants from age to age remains very nearly the same. Whilst population is increasing at one point, it is diminishing at another : so, upon the whole, the balance of the world is preserved. For instance, the population of the United States at this time is doubling itself about every twenty-two and a half years. Should the same ratio be preserved for a century, we will have a population of near five hundred millions. Now as the population of the world always remains about the same, there must be a corresponding diminution at some point. This will no doubt take place in Asia, and in portions of the American continent, and in some parts of Europe.

There is now scarcely a doubt but that the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to inhabit the whole continent of America : they will amalgamate with the highest of the Castilian blood ; and the lower orders, embracing the Indians and mixed breeds, inhabiting Mexico and the countries south, will become extinct like the Indians in our own country.

CHAPTER XI.

DUTIES OF MASTERS.

“Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven.” Colossians iv. 1.

“And ye Masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening; knowing that your Master also is in Heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.” Ephesians, vi. 9.

BEFORE closing this work, it will be proper to sketch briefly the duties that Masters owe their servants. The above texts of Scripture contain all that is needful on this subject.

1st. *Masters are bound to supply all the necessary wants of their Slaves.*—This is implied in the apostolic injunction that Masters should render unto their servants “*that which is just and equal.*” As the servant is the property of the Master, and his whole time is devoted to his service, it is imperative on the Master to supply his servants with an abundance of food and clothing, suitable for them in their situation as servants. The wants of the sick, the young, and the aged, should be specially attended to.

But servants are not only attended when sick, but their wants are liberally supplied when in

health. My acquaintance among the Slaveholders is extensive: with many of them it is intimate. Enjoying these opportunities, I have spared no pains to ascertain how they treat their Slaves; and the result of the whole is decidedly favorable.

As to food, they are amply supplied: bacon, pork, beef, corn bread, potatoes, peas, cabbage, turnips, and many other articles, they receive in abundance. Many of the planters measure out weekly the provisions for the Negroes, but others simply provide them daily with a sufficiency to supply their wants. I have no acquaintance with any planter, that fails to supply his Slaves liberally with food: there may be individuals of this class; and if so, they should be severely rebuked by an enlightened community. No man that half feeds his Negroes, should be countenanced by the community: on the contrary, he should be scouted from all decent society. In fact, such is the case: I have occasionally heard of men that did not feed well, and I have always heard them condemned by the community. They are looked upon as monsters, who are not entitled to the respect and confidence of society. Our country is becoming too democratic to be swayed by wealth, in the absence of virtue and intelligence.

2d. *Masters are bound to provide suitable hou-*

ses for their Slaves.—This is necessary, not only as a matter of humanity and Christian duty, but as a matter of interest; for by providing suitable houses for their servants, much expense is often saved in the way of doctors' bills, and other expenses: even the lives of the Slaves may be preserved in this way. From the observations which I have made, I am induced to think that much improvement is needed in this particular; and that it is possible to effect this improvement with but very little outlay of expense.

I know many planters who provide accommodations, of this sort, for their Slaves, altogether suitable; so that the interest of the planter, and comfort of the Negro, are at once effectually protected.

It must be acknowledged, however, that a large majority of our planters are not as well situated in this particular as they might be. The Negro houses in general are too small, too open for comfort, and too near the ground for health. A more comfortable set of cabins would, in the end, be cheaper than those they have at present. Much sickness among the Negroes, loss of time, doctors' bills, and other expenses would thereby be avoided. Besides, humanity should dictate improvement in this particular; our Negroes are hu-

man beings as we are, and though more inured to hardship than the white race, are nevertheless, susceptible of receiving impressions from cold, and of being injured by the same causes that affect the whites.

3d. *Masters are bound not to exact more than a reasonable amount of service from their Slaves.* I have before commented upon a peculiarity in the Negro character, viz: an obstinate resistance to every effort to force him to the performance of more than a reasonable amount of service. The Negro is the most obedient Slave in the world, and will as readily perform a reasonable service; but any attempt to force him beyond this, will be met by obstinate, mulish resistance. The mild, obedient Slave is converted into the obstinate, reckless rebel against his Master's authority, fearing nothing, feeling nothing, and caring for nothing. A knowledge of this trait in the Negro character has its due influence upon all Slaveholders. They scarcely ever require of them more than a reasonable service, for they are fully aware, that a contrary course would result in more trouble and expense than a little. This accounts for one fact which has been observed, viz: that Northern men and foreigners, when they settle among us and become *Slave owners*, are the very worst Masters in the

whole country. They always improve, however, after a few years experience, for self-interest, without taking humanity into the account, would lead to such a result.

From the above facts, it is evident that our Slaves are not often over-worked, though it may occasionally happen.

Let every planter, however, be careful not to demand more service from his Slaves than what is reasonable and just. This amount of labor will be performed cheerfully; even correction for failure to perform this reasonable service, will be submitted to without murmuring, but any thing beyond will be obstinately resisted.

4th. *Masters are required to govern their Slaves with dignity and mildness, but with inflexible firmness.* A passionate, ill-tempered man, not being able to govern himself, cannot of course be expected to govern others. Such persons are unfit to govern any one; they always govern their families badly, and their Negroes are always turbulent, disobedient, and unruly. The passions of the Master arouse the passions of the Slave; this takes place on the principle of sympathy, a law of our nature which is now well understood. A Master, to command obedience, must be calm, firm, and dignified; he should never in any case,

allow his orders to be disobeyed, but to insure this the more effectually, and to preserve his authority, he should never command his Slaves to do what is unreasonable. His orders should be reasonable but rigidly executed. Slaves will become much attached to a Master that governs in this manner.

5th. *Masters are required to attend to the moral condition of their Slaves.* Duty and interest both dictate this; a moral upright Slave is much more valuable than an immoral one. Slaves should be kept from the use of intoxicating drinks; at least, they should always be corrected when they indulge to excess. But this is a point that Masters are not backward in attending to; they generally keep a strict watch over their Slaves in this particular, for they are well aware that a drunken Slave is almost worthless. I have known a few drunken Slaves, and only a few; and they were almost worthless to their Masters.

But Masters are bound not only to keep their Slaves from drink, but from all other vices that could injure them intellectually, morally, or physically. This they are bound to do, as a matter of duty, but they will find likewise, their interest greatly subserved thereby.

But heads of families should not only keep their Slaves from vicious indulgences, but they should

impart to them such moral instruction as they are capable of receiving. Reading is not the only method of gaining knowledge. Much useful knowledge is acquired by listening to oral instruction, either in the form of public lectures or in private conversation. These methods may, therefore, be adopted to impart useful moral instruction to the Negroes.

I do not wish to be understood as maintaining that our Slaves are more immoral than such people generally are; far from it, I believe on the contrary, that taken as a body, they are the most moral peasantry in the world. From all the accounts we have of the peasantry of England, their moral condition is greatly below that of our Slaves. One reason of this is, that their Masters enjoy the benefits of Slavery, without its responsibilities, and its humanities. They take no care of the morals of the laborers, for labor being abundant they have no direct interest in so doing. The peasantry, therefore, almost run wild, become intemperate, and indulge in a thousand other vices that our Negroes, owing to our strict family discipline, growing out of interest and duty, have not the right to indulge in.

6th. *Masters are required to attend to the religious condition of their Slaves.* By this I mean,

that they should allow them every facility for attending Divine service. I know of no Master that neglects this duty; our Negroes all enjoy ample privileges in this particular, as far as my knowledge extends. Most of our Negroes have the privilege of attending preaching once or twice a week; and besides, they hold religious meetings of their own as often as they wish. Among the 3,000,000 of Negroes at the South there are probably not less than 600,000 communicants. Most of these are orderly, correct members of the Church, and have in reality, more earnestness and zeal than the whites themselves. I know several Negroes that possess a degree of piety that but few white people can ever expect to equal.

THE END.

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